‘THE LAST LIGHT OF INDIAN BUDDHISM’ - THE MONK ZHIKONG IN 14TH CENTURY CHINA AND KOREA

by

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I dedicate this endeavor to the late Dr. Jaeryong Shim (심재룡)

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the northeast Indian Buddhist Monk, Dhyānabhadra (Zhikong 指空, Jigong 지공, Sunyadisaya, ca. 1289-1364 C.E.). He began his more than a decade of study in the Nālandā Mahāvihāra education system late in the 13th century, and then at the age of nineteen began a journey to the east and a life that would lead to him being known as "the last light of Indian Buddhism" in East Asia. This study is inspired by two goals. One is to retrace the formation, dissemination and reception of his thought and soteriological paradigm of practice from his native state of Magadha, then Sri Lanka, and then throughout India, Yuan China and Goryeo Korea. The other is it explicate the main elements and concepts of his thought and present them to the academic community.

I examine Zhikong's thought through my translations and discussions of key passages from three primary source texts on him, as well as other writings, in order to situate his Buddhist thought and practice within the historical context of Buddhism in the Yuan capital and Goryeo. I propose that Zhikong's representative paradigm of practice, based on the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts (*wusheng jie* 無生戒)" system, emphasized a socio-ethical approach that viewed the realization of awakening as available to the laity as well as monks. He was especially attracted to minoritized or marginalized peoples in Yuan society, specifically members of the Goryeo expatriate community in the Yuan capital of Dadu (Beijing). I argue that the elements and concepts of Zhikong's representative "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" system more closely resemble those of late-Goryeo Buddhism's "*bodhisattva* precepts" system than those of Yuan-period Chinese Chan's "pure rules of Chan" precepts system.

INTRODUCTION: RE-CREATING ZHIKONG AND HIS THOUGHT

This dissertation investigates the type of Buddhism that the 13th to 14th century north Indian monk Dhyānabhadra (Zhikong 指空, Jigong 지공, Sunyadisaya, ca. 1289-1364 C.E.) came to develop and teach. At the age of nineteen, Zhikong completed his studies at the Nālandā Mahāvihāra monastic-university complex in his home state of Magadha. Then, for almost the next two decades, he traveled throughout, and lived in some places from six months to up to five years in, Sri Lanka, the Indian subcontinent, Yuan China and Goryeo Korea. He finally settled down and lived out the final decades of his life in the Yuan capital of Dadu. Zhikong's thought exhibited the tendency toward the "indivisibility of meditative concentration (practice) and (scriptural) teaching (*chanjiao weifen* 禪教未分)," and which emphasized a soteriological paradigm of practice based on enactment of the "three practices (*sanxue* 三學)" of learning, practicing and internalizing Buddhist doctrines through "moral discipline (*jie* 戒, *śīla*)," "meditative concentration (*ding* 定, *samādhi*)," and "wisdom (*hui* 慧, *prajñā*)."

For Zhikong, the more explicit emphases of the indivisibility of these original and fundamental teachings of Buddhism, and those that are shared characteristics of southern Buddhism, were the "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts (*wusheng jie* 無生戒, *musaeng gye* 무생계)"[1] and "no-(defiled) mind *chan* (*wuxin chan* 無心禪, *musim seon* 무심선)."[2] The "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" of Zhikong emphasize "(neither arising nor) non-arising," which is equated with intrinsic but yet-unrealized enlightenment. According to Zhikong's paradigm of practice, the

[1] A commonly accepted translation of the concept *wusheng* is the realization of emptiness in not being subject to birth and death, or the condition of the cessation of defilements. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

I propose that Zhikong viewed *wusheng jie* as the practice toward the realization of (and practice with the mindset of) emptiness, through a moral discipline based on practice of the *vinaya* as Zhikong articulated it. This is defined and dealt with in more detail in later chapters.

[2] In reference to Zhikong's thought in this dissertation, I understand his definition of "no-(defiled) mind *chan*" as "meditative concentration (that is) free of (discriminating) thought." I propose that Zhikong viewed it as "the practice (or enactment) of the precepts toward and of moral discipline that is free of (discriminating) thought." I discuss this concept in detail in chapters four and five.

following of precepts can be interpreted as being at a stage prior to the experience of "contemplative realization (*guannian* 觀念)" of the "initial source of nature (*yuanchu xing* 原初性)." Zhikong's ultimate goal of Buddhism was the "realization and (subsequent) cultivation of enlightenment (*xiudao* 修道)" mainly through the practices of "sitting meditation (*zuochan* 坐禪)" and, as his primary soteriological practice, the following or enactment of the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." As a key theme in his writing on the "truth of the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts (*wusheng jiefa* 無生戒法)," [3] Zhikong asserted that the relativity of "essential nature and characteristics, being and non-being (*xingxiang youwu* 性相有無)" is overcome by "emptiness thought (*kong sixiang* 空思想)." The ideological origins of this assertion were not unique to him, as they are central themes in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. In addition, Zhikong emphasized creativity in the personal expression of "original essence (*benti* 本體)." Zhikong's thought was closer to that of Goryeo Seon (Chan) Buddhism than with the thought of Yuan period Chinese Chan or Tibetan Lamaism. The ideological basis of Zhikong's thought corresponds to that of the southern school of Chan.

The primary sources record that Zhikong's father was the king of Magadha (Mojiedi guo 摩竭提國), in what is now southern Behar in northern India, and his grandfather was the king of Kapilavastu (Jiapiluo guo 迦毘羅國), in the southern part of today's Nepal. His mother was a princess of Kāncipūra (Xiangzhi guo 香至國) or Conjeveram, today's Kanchipura in southwestern India.[4] Zhikong's life can be divided into three stages, and his journey encompassing all three is shown by Map 1. The first stage is the period in his home country in northeastern India. It includes

[3] "Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of the Highest Vehicle – Vols. 1-3" (1353), reprinted in *The Light of Indian Buddhism Transformed in Medieval Korea : Son Master Zhikong* (高麗로 옮긴 인도의 등불 : 指空禪賢 *Koryoro olmkin Indo uii tungpul: Chigong sonhyon*), Heungsik Heo (Seoul, T'ukpyolsi: Ilchogak, 1997), 331-348.
[4] T2089. 51, 9083a.

his early general education at home, becoming a monk, "achieving the Dao (*dedao* 得道)," [5] and the completion of his monastic education. Zhikong had an auspicious birth after his parents prayed to the God of Great Majestic Virtue in the Eastern Area (*dongfang dade shen* 東方大威德神). He was "taught the (five) precepts (*shoujie* 授戒)"at the age of eight. He was educated by his teacher, Instructor Vinayabhadra (Jiangshi Lüxian 講師律賢 or "Master of Exposition"), in the Nālandā Mahāvihāra monastic-university complex system, in today's Bihar state of India, until he was nineteen, when his teacher suggested that he travel to Sri Lanka (Lengjia guo 楞迦國, or Ceylon) to study *prajna* doctrines under another teacher, Samantaprabhāsa (Puming 普明), who lived in Dingyin cloister (Dingyin an 頂音菴) on Mt. Srigiri (Jixiang shan 吉祥山) in the mid-southern part of Sri Lanka.[6] Despite spending at least the first twenty years of his life only on the Indian subcontinent and in Sri Lanka, according to Gupta, Thapa and Heo,[7] no primary sources have been found in India that mention Zhikong's family history and that can corroborate the Chinese and Korean primary sources used in this study.

Jan[8] and Duan[9] agree that the end of Buddhist translation of Indian texts during the Song was the end of the Indian Buddhist expansion to East Asia. Some key reasons were that monks of sects in East Asia became more concerned with becoming specialists in the basic scriptures of their own sects, and focused on studying the commentaries written by their own patriarchs. Other reasons were the rise in Tantrism and spread of Islam in India. However, Yi-liang Chou[10] demonstrates that the Indian Tantric tradition entered court life in China through translations of Indian texts and the

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[5] This refers to having a spiritual awakening experience, so in Zhikong's context as a Buddhist, it refers to an experience of the realization of enlightenment.
[6] T2089. 51.983a.
[7] Soutosh K. Gupta, "Journey of Indian Monk Ven. Dhyānabhadra (Chi-Gong) from Nālandā to Hoeam-sa in Korea," *History of Buddhism* 7 (2006): 589; Shanker Thapa, "Transmission of Indian Buddhist Thought in East Asian Historiography: Dhyānabhadra (Chi-Gong) and Buddhism in 14th Century Korea" (paper presented at the Sixth World Korean Studies Congress 27-29 Oct 2006, organized by The Academy of Korean Studies, 2006); Heo 1997.
[8] Yun-hua Jan, "Buddhist Relations between India and Sung China. Part II," *History of Religions*, 6, No. 2 (November, 1966): 139.
[9] Yuming Duan, *Zhikong, the Last Great Indian Monk to Come to China* (指空 - 最后一位来华的印度高僧) (Bashu Publishers (巴蜀书社) 2007a).
[10] Yi-liang Chou, "Tantrism in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8, no. 3/4 (March 1945): 241-332.

courtiers' engagement in ritualistic practices of the Tantric tradition, thus leading to the absorption of Tantric soteriological elements in other schools of Chinese Buddhism. Some of these Tantric ritualistic practices were continued in the Yuan as well as Goryeo courts. Numerous contacts between India and China during the Song demonstrate that portions of the routes Zhikong would later take and the peoples he would come into contact with over two centuries later were not arbitrary. Zhikong would follow well-known paths and had to know what kinds of peoples he would meet along the way.[11]

The second stage is the period of his travels that took him to Yandu (燕都, Yeondo 연도, Yanjing 燕京 or Dadu 大都), today's Beijing (北京),[12] during which he tested and refined his thought. He left his native land sometime, probably late, in the first decade of the 14th century and traveled through what is modern-day Sri Lanka, the entire Indian subcontinent and Tibet, and then

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[11] There were a number of exchanges between the Song and India. The *Songhuiyao jigao* (Vol. 8, 7758) and the *Fozu tongji* (p. 398) record that in 982 a monk from Yizhou returned from his trip to India with a memorial written by a king for the Chinese emperor. The monk brought from the king a relic of Sakyamuni to the emperor. See Song Xu, *Songhuiyao jigao* (宋會要輯稿) (Shanghai: Zhongua Shuju, 1957); and *Fozu tongji* (佛祖統紀). Compiled by Zhipan (志磐) from 1258-1269.

In 991, in the 3rd month, a monk from Magadha offers Sanskrit manuscripts to the court. In the 5th month of the same year, a monk from Sinhala (Sri Lanka) arrived at court with five disciples and presented twenty bundles of Sanskrit canons (*Xiangfu fabao lu luechu* p. 12). Also, a monk from Nālandā was granted an imperial audience. He offered Buddhist relics and Sanskrit scriptures, and was presented with a purple robe. He stayed at Daxianguuo monastery (*Songhuiyao jigao* Vol. 8, 7758). See *A Catalogue of the Precious Books of Dharma, Compiled During the Age of Dazhong Xiangfu* (*Xiangfu fabao lu luechu*, 祥符法寶錄略出). Compiled in 1013 by Chao An-jen and Yang Yi (杨億), et.al.; and *Songhuiyao jigao*.

In the 1st month of 1023, a Sanskrit scholar from India presented Sanskrit canons. The Indian monk had been to a major monastery in Magadha, where he obtained a long Sanskrit text that was not in the *Buddhist Canon* (*Jingyou fabao lu luechu* p. 15). See *A Catalogue of the Precious Books of Dharma Compiled During the Age of Jingyou* (*Jingyou fabao lu luechu*, 景祐法寶錄略出). Compiled in 1036 by Lu Yijian (呂夷簡) and Song Shou (宋綬), et.al.

In the 1st month of 1032, the monk Huaiwen (壞問) who had traveled to India to have a pagoda constructed at Vajrasana on behalf of emperor Chenzong, prayed for another trip to the west. He prayed to have copies of newly translated texts that were yet relatively unknown in China, including the *Record of the Magadha Kingdom* (*Mojiatuoguo zhi* 摩加陀國記) inscribed on the walls of the base of the pagoda. He was sent on three trips to India to search for canons not found in China, and to bring them back for translation (*Jingyou fabao lu luechu*, p. 17). In the 5th month of 1039, Huaiwen returned from Magadha with other monks, and brought a relic bone of the Buddha, Sanskrit canons, inscriptions, and leaves of the Bodhi tree. He was given the title "Great Master Who Manifests the Religion (Xianjiao Dashi 顯教大師) (*Fozu tongji*, 410). See *Jingyou fabao lu luechu*.

[12] Yandu, or Yanjing (燕京) was the pre-Yuan name of what is Beijing (北京) today. Yanjing had formerly been named Zhongdu (中都) in 1153 during the Jurchen Jin. The Mongols destroyed Zhongdu in 1215 and it in 1264 began rebuilding it. The name Dadu (大都) and Yandu (燕都, 연도 Yeondo) were given in 1272, and these names remained during the Yuan after Zhikong arrived there in the early 1320s. Dadu thus became the name of the Yuan capital, and Shangdu (上都, also known as Kaiping 開平 until 1270), about 200 miles north and in Mongolia, was the "summer capital" during the Yuan. Shangdu was also called Luanjing (灤京). Shangdu was destroyed in 1359.

Zhikong arrived in the Yuan capital for the first time either late in the first decade of the 14th century or early in the second decade. In this dissertation, I most often refer to the Yuan capital as Dadu.

into the western regions of Yuan China. In the southwest province of Yunnan (雲南), he spent as many as five years establishing a Buddhist community, sometime between 1315 and approximately 1320, and completing the construction of Zhengxu Temple (正續寺) in Wuding (武定) on Lion Mountain (狮山 Shishan), about 60 miles northwest of Kunming (昆明).[13]

The third stage of his life is the up to thirty-five years of his life in the Yuan capital that included a two year and seven month visit to Goryeo Korea, stopping in at many well-known Buddhist sites as well as Gaegyeong (개경, Kaijing 開京).[14] In the Yuan capital he met and accepted as his disciple the Goryeo monk, Naong Hyegeun (나옹혜근, Lanweng Huiqin 懶翁慧勤, 1320-1376 C.E.). Naong and other Goryeo monks who studied in China would become the most influential Goryeo monks of their era. Zhikong stayed at Fayuan Temple (法源寺), for most of the rest of his life, in Dadu with the support of a powerful sponsor. Zhikong died in 1364. Throughout his life he continued to practice and enact the "rules and *vinaya* (*jielü* 戒律)," [15] "teaching and studying (*jiaoxue* 教學)," [16] and "complete penetration through meditative insight (*canchan* 參禪)." [17]

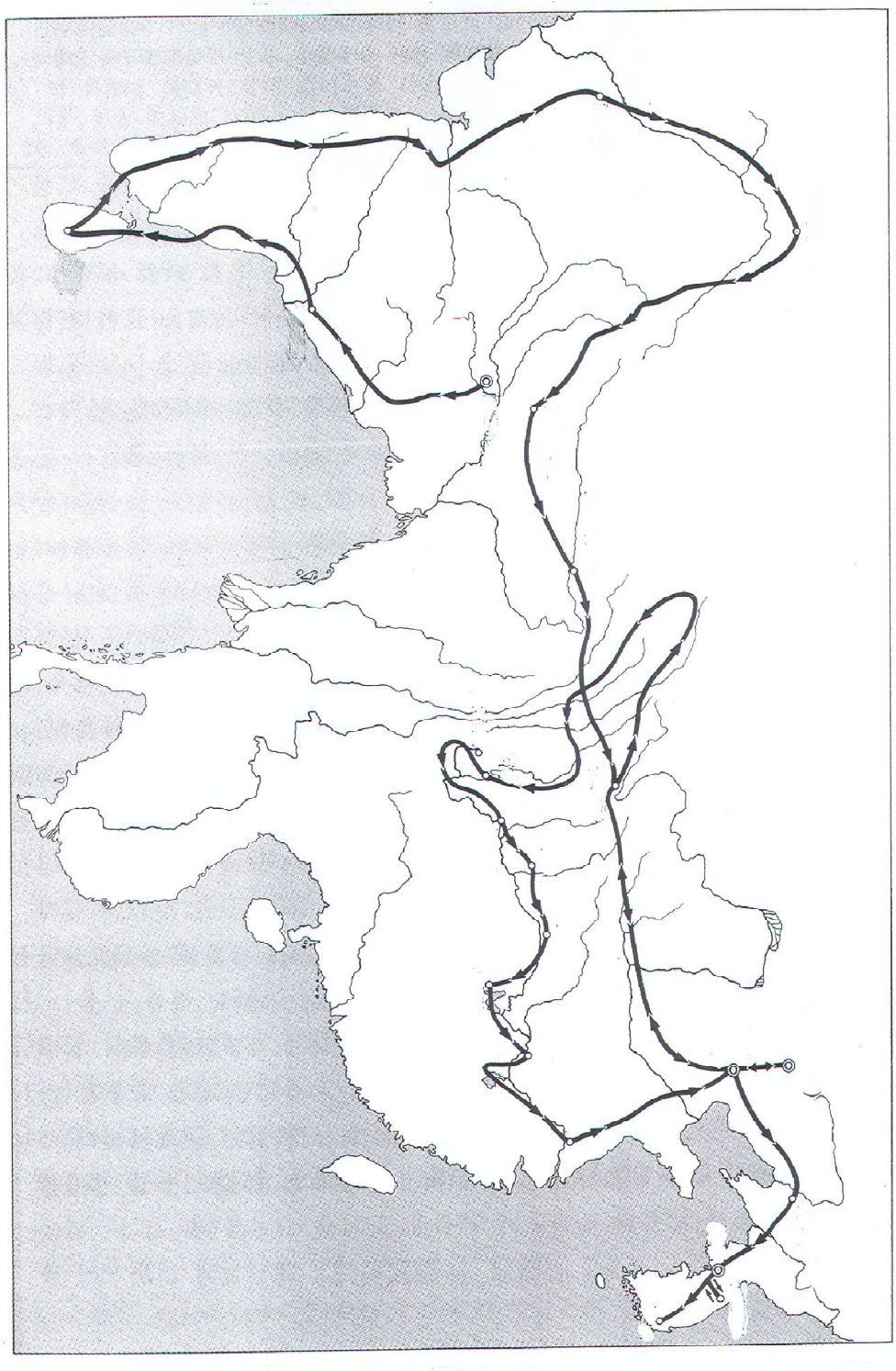
[13] Kunming was referred to as Yunnanfu (雲南府) prior to the Yuan dynasty, when most of what is today the province of Yunnan was referred to as Dian (滇).

[14] In 1352, the Goryeo city Gaegyeong, or Songak (송악, Songyue 松嶽), changed its name to Gaeseong (개성, Kaicheng 開城) in what is today the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), or North Korea. Zhikong first arrived in Goryeo in the 3rd month of 1326, and probably visited Gaegyeong twice during his two year and seven month journey throughout Goryeo. In this dissertation, I refer to this city as Gaegyeong.

[15] The term "rules" loosely refers to precepts or commandments of Buddhism, and *vinaya* refers broadly to the various sets of rules for schools of Buddhism.

[16] This phrase refers to the teaching and studying or practicing of the rules of the *vinaya* and the scriptures.

[17] The phrase "complete penetration through meditative insight" is the "goal" of the practice of meditative concentration, and the soteriological "goal" of all Buddhist monks.



Map 1: Zhikong's entire route from Magadha to the Yuan and Goryeo

As Zhikong was not Chinese, his royal though foreign (non-Han Chinese as well as non-Mongol) pedigree did not in itself offer him much influence over those he interacted with during his travels through and life in Yuan China. Nonetheless, Zhikong was able to gain the support and patronage of influential figures of minority and minoritized groups in both the Yunnan region and the Yuan capital, and this allowed him to be involved in the founding or co-founding of temples that still exist today in Yunnan, Beijing and Korea. After settling in Dadu, he was successful in acquiring Buddhist laymen and supporters, which included Goryeo Korean expatriates and members of the Mongol Yuan royal family as well as influential members of the Goryeo Buddhist clergy. Crucial to his success among these groups was that his eclectic style of Buddhism that, I propose, had an affinity with elements or aspects of the orthodox Korean Seon lineage in Goryeo, the Jogye Seon Order (Jogye jong 조계종, Caoxi zong 曹溪宗), and the soteriological paradigm of the peripheral lineage of Goryeo Seon Buddhism, the Imje Seon sect (Imje jong 임제종, Linji zong 臨濟宗).

Zhikong and Previous Research on Buddhist Hagiography vs. Biography

In this section, I present the key relevant research on, and limitations of, the issue of biography vs. hagiography, in the tradition of East Asian literature concerning eminent monks. Then, in the following section, I present research that validates the methods by which we can look past historical conventional representations of eminent monks so that I might reveal Zhikong the historical individual. I propose that East Asian writers of primary source materials on Indian Buddhist monks represented them to a degree according to the trope of the wandering Indian esoteric monk, just as the compilers of the East Asian “biography of eminent monk” genre of texts represented East Asian monks according to a somewhat flexible trope. This dissertation presents descriptions of Zhikong that correspond to both the eminent monk trope and the East Asian trope of the wandering Indian Buddhist monk of the esoteric tradition. However, I use these merely as initial points of reference about him, as they are a part of the historical reality of the depiction of monks.

In this dissertation, I utilize a variety of primary sources such as travelogues, memorial steles, biographies of Zhikong and of some key figures in his life, dynastic histories, and toponomy (place naming). I situate Zhikong with the historical contexts of Buddhism in India, Sri Lanka, Yuan China and Goryeo Korea. I attempt to deconstruct and look critically at the varieties and levels of interpretation of the depictions of Zhikong and his encounters in the primary sources, and take into account the perspectives of those compiling these depictions. By doing so, it is possible to reconstruct Zhikong the individual who defies the conventional categorization of Zhikong depicted according to trope-specific patterns of representation. By situating him historically and contextually, he exhibits a degree of individuality. A facts-based representation of an historical figure is the goal of an historian, as well as the goal of this dissertation concerning Zhikong.

Hagiography has limitations. It functions to perpetuate common aspects of what compilers and their patrons and traditions loosely agree upon as representative of an eminent monk through the enduring image of historical figures as trope. A trope is presented, and is modifiable to an extent. It is a fluid and somewhat dynamic ideological construct. This is precisely the historian's inherent problem in dealing with hagiography in the depiction of an historical figure. In order to distinguish between the trope and the individual, one first must understand the conceptualization and utilization of hagiography.

Representative aspects that comprise the wandering esoteric Indian monk trope include worship of statues, conversion of heretics, interactions with spirits, thaumaturgy, use of *dhāranī* or *mantra* in the performance of magic, prescribed ascetic practices, meditation, and expressions of moral virtue, a transgressive nature, transmitters of the eternal Buddha concepts from the center to the periphery, and soteriological liminality. This derives from a common trope in the Esoteric and Chan literary traditions. The mystery of origin of his powers, his training, his lineage and of the (meaning of) his encounters during his extensive travels to and from foreign lands in fact constitute a major

source of the "wandering Indian esoteric master" trope's legitimacy.[18] In the Esoteric tradition, lack of clarity as to what one does and even who he is, from the "outsiders'" view of the individual, legitimates the efficacy of his powers. Secrecy and mystery are the sources of legitimacy and efficacy. As I discuss in more detail in chapter two, and demonstrate in my translations and descriptions of passages from primary sources in chapter two to four, all of these apply to Zhikong.

Edmund Leach described the terms, *devas* and *devata* types to refer to such individuals, and his views became prevalent in anthropological discourse.[19] J.A. Boon's term "*devata* type" can be applied to include the wandering master trope. He writes, "What is inadmissible as fence-sitting in political thought is productive as boundary-straddling in mythic thought. Tricksters, saints... bodhisattvas, monks,... such *devata*-types display all sorts of emotive and experiential excesses in order to bridge the necessary gaps of religious cosmology."[20] It is precisely the straddling of the boundary between myth and "reality" that provides access to "secret knowledge." In many religious traditions, and specifically the Esoteric Buddhist tradition in the case of Zhikong, the validation of the efficacy of one's knowledge is that it is secret. Therefore, a particular individual who possesses, or is perceived by others of influence as having the ability or potential to possess, secret knowledge authenticates his status and authority as a religious figure. This raises his capital, and thus potential, to function as a legitimizing tool for others who hold secular authority to validate their own power. Faure is even more direct concerning the prominence of a magic maker when he quotes Ernest

[18] The "wandering Indian esoteric master" trope is based on the three early Esoteric masters of the 8th century who introduced this tradition to China. They are Shanwuwei (善無畏, 637-735 C.E.), Vajrabodhi (Jingangzhi 金剛智, 669-741 C.E.), and Amoghavajra (Bukong jingang 不空金剛, 705-774 C.E.). I discuss this as it relates to Zhikong in more detail in chapter two.

[19] "One aspect of divinity, which I label as *deva*, is that of first cause, the original source of supernatural power. The purpose of all religious activity is to obtain benefit from this ultimate sacred source but, as a rule, direct approach to the *deva* is felt to be dangerous. In defense against this danger, religions have created a great variety of secondary gods, goddesses, prophets, and mediums, who are thought to exercise supernatural powers by derivation from the original source and who can, on that account, act as intermediaries between man and God. These secondary deities I label as *devata*. See Edmund Leach, "Pulleyar and the Lord Buddha," in *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach*, ed. W.H. Lessa and E.Z. Vogy (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 301-313.

[20] James A. Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 252.

Renen with, "The East sets little value on a sage who is not a thaumaturge."[21] I propose that the allusion to Zhikong's "secret and mysterious" powers described in Yi Saek's travelogue of him is a key aspect of his presentation of Zhikong. The role of wonder-making is accepted and utilized, myth and reality are convoluted, and secrecy is accepted.

According to John Kieschnick,[22] in the "biography of eminent monk" genre of texts, many of the monks share similar experiences with each other and many stories about them have common themes. These common themes include an "outsider" status, worship of statues, conversion of heretics, interactions with spirits, thaumaturgy, use of *dharani* or *mantras* in the performance of magic (the most common example being conjuring up water during a drought), ascetic practices, meditation, and expressions of moral virtue, a transgressive nature, (as they crossed frontiers and violated cultural boundaries), transmitters of the eternal Buddhadharma to the periphery (East Asia), and soteriological liminality. These similar themes and experiences in the lives of the eminent monks are in part shaped according to the template the life of the historical Buddha while at the same time are drawn from troupes in former hagiographical collections of officially-sponsored biographies. Descriptions and discussions of Zhikong's encounters in chapter two to four demonstrate each of these pertains to the representation of Zhikong in primary sources.

Bernard Faure points out that one characteristic of Buddhism in the East Asia context concerning eminent monks is the importance of having a prominent place in a lineage, through which his teaching can be perpetuated, that extends back to the Buddha.[23] Yampolsky suggests that this emphasis on lineage signifies the perceived need for Buddhists to have an "aura of legitimacy" based on a long-standing tradition in China that pre-dates the entry of Buddhism, especially with the rise in sectarianism in Chan Buddhism during and after the Tang. [24] On this point, association with an Indian Buddhist patriarch offers opportunities for an East Asian monk to trace his pedigree

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[21] Bernard Faure, *Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Ch'an/Zen Buddhism* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 96.
[22] John Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997).
[23] Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy*, trans. Phyllis Brooks (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1997), 1.
[24] Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (Columbia University Press; 6th ed., 1978), 4.

beyond his own borders as well as the borders of China. Zhikong, as one of the last north Indian monks trained in the Nālandā system to interact with members of and influence both Chinese and Korean Buddhism, presented a unique opportunity for the East Asian monks who perceived an advantage to be accepted into his lineage system. I demonstrate in chapter six that lineage is especially significant, as influential Goryeo monks associated themselves with the "unique" lineage of Zhikong to augment their status in the Goryeo Jogye Buddhist Order as well as among the Goryeo ruling elites.

There are many examples in the history of Buddhism of the assertion that all forms of proselytization or attempts to convert non-believers, to assist them to save themselves, are done essentially to "spread the Dharma," and that this is the most fundamental responsibility of a monk. The Buddha is said to have asserted this on his deathbed. Also, Huijiao (慧皎, 497-554 C.E.), in the first line of his treatise on "divine marvels (*shenyi* 神異)," the performance of works of magic by eminent monks, wrote, "The purpose of these divine acts is 'proselytism,'"[25] or to spread the *Dharma*. Daoxuan (道宣, 596-667 C.E.), in the chapter on wonder-workers of his treatise, wrote, "Without this [thaumaturgy] it would be difficult to spread [Buddhism]."[26] In his study of medieval Chinese constructions of "foreign" imagery, Marc Abramson[27] holds that the barbarians were transgressive in nature, thus powerful and prestigious, as they crossed frontiers and violated boundaries. As transmitters of the eternal Buddhadharma from its source (northern India) to the periphery (East Asia), the eminent foreign monks represented soteriological liminality, and thus power, in the Chinese context. For Zhikong, teaching in his own way through a variety of means that included performing "divine marvels" with the explicit purpose of spreading the *Dharma*

[25] Huijiao compiled the first of the three major biographies of eminent monks, the *Liang Biographies* (高僧傳 *Gaoseng zhuan*), prior to the 11th century. See Huijiao, *The Liang Biographies* (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳), ed. Yongtong Tang 湯用彤 and Yizuan Tang 湯一玄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 395a.
[26] Daoxuan (道宣), *The Further Biographies* (*Xu gaoseng zhuan*, 續高僧傳), 677b. Zanning (919-1001) compiled the third major biography of eminent monks. See Zanning (贊寧), *The Song Biographies* (*Song gaoseng zhuan*, 宋高僧傳), ed. Xiangyong Fan 范祥雍 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987).
[27] Marc Abramson, "Deep Eyes and High Noses: Physiognomy and the Depiction of Barbarians in Tang China." In *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo and Don J. Wyatt (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 146.

among the various peoples he encountered, was a most obvious and pervasive activity throughout his life.

The use of magical spell texts and the use of magical spells in Buddhist liturgy by esoteric masters from Central Asia and India contributed to their acceptance into East Asia and subsequent impact on the growth of Buddhism. In his text on eminent monks, the *Song Biographies*, Zanning (贊寧)[28] includes stories on wonder making, but the most dramatic stories are those depicting monks using their charismatic power of influence, or "spiritual resonance (*gantong* 感通)" for compassionate ends, such as to alleviate the suffering of others, and the promotion of Buddhism.[29] In chapter three to five, stories and discussions of Zhikong's encounters show that in many respects he demonstrated the qualities and performed the works of a thaumaturge with "spiritual resonance."[30]

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[28] Zanning 1987.

[29] In fact, Zanning has a chapter on wonder making entitled "Spiritual Resonance." Zanning explained his reason for adopting this title by asserting that the biographies of the monks in this chapter show that they "penetrate, and attain the nature of wisdom; they cultivate, and attain 'stimulation.' Supernormal powers [*tong*] are the fruits [of their cultivation]." See Zanning 1987, 22.T (854b).

Zanning had obtained his understanding of "spiritual resonance" from the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing*, 義淨). Daoxuan, Huijiao and Zanning compiled, collected, and included tales of wonder making in their biographies of eminent monks, not only for the propagation of Buddhism but also to valorize and perpetuate the long-held view that these acts and the monks who performed them were proof of the efficacy of Buddhism.

Clearly, "spiritual resonance" was important cultural capital for a number of reasons, including its utility in convincing local inhabitants of the superiority of Buddhism (and the monk) over local gods, in order to spread the *Dharma*, proselytize, and gain converts, sponsors and disciples. The wonder-making thaumaturge with effective "spiritual resonance" was linked to enigmatic foreign texts and the ability to recite foreign words. Buddhist knowledge was regarded as exotic in China, and this exoticism was part of success of Buddhist monks, whether foreign or Chinese. The thaumaturge possessed an intangible quality of mystery, and hagiographers utilized thaumaturgy, wonder-making and "spiritual resonance" as subtle rhetorical strategies of promotion of Buddhist monks through their representations of them. On one level, stories of thaumaturges in hagiographies can be seen as literary hooks to draw the readers' attention, in order to subtly promote Buddhist ideals through these representations of monks deemed eminent.

In his earlier work, the structure of which Zanning modeled his work on, Huijiao collected stories with similar themes, but had named that chapter "Divine Marvels" (*shenyi* 神異). See Huijiao 1992.

[30] Koichi Shinohara (1994) critiques the research of Wright (1954) on the earliest of these *Biographies*, that by Huijao. This criticism relates to the representation of Zhikong in the primary sources written or compiled by Confucian scholar-officials such as Yi Saek. Specifically, Wright's theorizes that the compilers of the two later eminent monk biographies, by Daoxuan and Zanning, changed the relative importance of one of the ten criteria of categorization of eminent monks in relation to the other nine that Huijao had established. Huijao had put "divine wonders (*shenyi* 神異)," or "miracle worker," as third among the ten criteria, because the early foreign monks utilized miracles and wonder-making to establish their "credentials" among the Chinese leaders they met. Shinohara translates "divine wonders (*shenyi* 神異)" as "miracle worker" and "spiritual resonance (*gantong* 感通)"" as "cosmic response."

However, Daoxuan and Zanning not only changed the criterion to the term, "cosmic response (*gantong* 感通)," or "spiritual resonance," they also put it sixth on the list of importance among the ten criteria. Wright holds that this is because the cultural elites in China, principally those of the scholar-official class, disdained Buddhism as a religion of the masses as well as disdained stories of miracles and the supernatural. Shinohara disagrees, and instead suggests that

Aspects of Zhikong's early childhood as well as his formal education and lifelong teaching and practice match those of eminent monks in the three major early biographies, the *Liang Biographies* (*Gaoseng zhuan*, 高僧傳), the *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Xu gaoseng zhuan*, 續高僧傳), and the *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Song gaoseng zhuan*, 宋高僧傳).[31] In his model of the genre of hagiography in the eminent monk tradition, Kieschnick asserts that, in these works, biography is part hagiography in that it functions as a transmitter of the Buddhist tradition as well as the transmission of aspects of the Buddhist monk ideal. Kieschnick's work is a study of the slowly changing conceptualizations of how monks were supposed to behave, and to do so he "set aside the historicity of the accounts and accept them as representations of the image of the monk, of

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Daoxuan and Zanning replaced the "miracle worker" category of Huijiao's work with the "cosmic response" category, and put it lower in importance on the list, in order to reflect the higher importance the Chinese Buddhists places on scholasticism. Regardless, by the time Huijao compiled his work, there had already been an established miracle story tradition, with its accompanying literary genre in circulation. See Koichi Shinohara, "Biographies of Eminent Monks in a Comparative Perspective: The Function of the Holy in Medieval Chinese Buddhism," *Chung-hwa Buddhist Journal* (*Zhonghua foxue xuebao*, 中華佛學學報) 7 (1994): 479-498; and Arthur Wright, "Biography and Hagiography: Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks," in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo* (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1954), 383-432.

[31] Keischnick 1997, 149-150. John Keischnick's work is based on the works of Peter Brown (1983), Robert Campany (1991), and Mu-chou Poo (1995). For more detail, see Peter Brown, "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity" *Representations* 1 (1983): 1-25; Robert Campany, "Notes on the Devotional Uses and Symbolic Functions of Sūtra Texts as Depicted in Early Chinese Buddhist Miracle Tales and Hagiographies" *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 14, no 1 (1991): 28-72; and Mu-chou Poo,"The Images of Immortals and Eminent Monks: Religious Mentality in Early Medieval China (4-6 c. A.D.)" *Numen* 42 (1995): 172-96.

Kieschnick's description of the development of the hagiographical tradition of the Buddhist monk ideal as presented in three major biographies of eminent monks - the *Liang Biographies* compiled by Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554), the *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667), and the *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* compiled by Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001). In Huijiao's compilation of the *Liang Biographies*, he divided the biographies into ten categories, to represent ideal types of monks. These include translators (*yijing* 譯經), exegetes (*yijie* 義解), divine wonders (*shenyi* 神異), practitioners of meditation (*xichan* 習禪), *vinaya* scholars (*minglü* 明律), monks who sacrificed themselves (*wangshen* 亡身), scripture chanters (*songjing* 誦經), those who solicited funds (*xingfu* 興福), hymnodists (*jingshi* 經師), and proselytizers (*changdao* 唱導). Only minor alterations and additions to these categories were made by Daoxuan and Zanning in their compilations. Kieschnick instead adopts his own categories in order to define the Chan monk ideal, based on the three themes of "asceticism (*kuxing* 苦行)," "thaumaturgy (*gudao fuzhou* 蠱道符呪)," and "scholarship (*jiao* 教)" that are the essential elements of the monastic ideal that appear in all forms of Buddhist literature. Each monk was constantly trying to establish and live up to some form of ideal standard of praxis, in the East Asian context in their period in history, concerning the *vinaya* that could address the often conflicting attractions of aestheticism and asceticism. There seems to have been an ongoing dynamic of innovation in the definition and expression of the ideal monk throughout the history of Buddhism in East Asia. Most important is the increasing valorization of the antinomian behavior and acts of the Chan monk ideal. From Huijiao's compilation to Zanning's, the antinomian monk plays a more and more prominent role as a representative of the Buddhist *sangha* and one whose activities and esoteric cultivation became not only more accepted and permitted but also sponsored by secular authorities (Keischnick 1997, 63).

Faure suggests that a source of the valorization of wanton behavior by monks within the framework of the orthodox Buddhist position on the *vinaya* was in the emergence in Tang China of the antinomian position in Buddhist thought. Antinomian behavior was accepted as a didactic expression of the *Dharma* only if it was done by those monks who have realized a high level of spiritual attainment. Thus the paradox that allows monks who strictly follow the *vinaya* and monks who openly transgress its rules to both be admired and respected is resolved by the acceptance of this doctrinal position. See Faure 1991.

what monks were *supposed* to be."[32] The biographical images were not mythical ideals but should be seen as "models of" and "models for" a religious life reflective of the religious milieu in which they were conceived and perpetuated.

One cannot discount the argument that stories of wonder-making in these three *Biographies* relate to issues other than expressing an idealized image of Buddhism and the monks who performed them. The *Biographies* contain many stories of monks who journeyed to frontier areas where the inhabitants worshipped local gods, and the ensuing struggles were over material resources as well as for converts. If a monk was able to defeat the god, the god usually acknowledged the monk's superiority over it by requesting to hear a sermon on the *Dharma* or receive the precepts.[33] Zanning wrote of the Tang monk Huiming (惠明) castigating a local god for receiving animal sacrifices, then being asked by it to receive the "*bodhisattva* precepts" and being offered its temple.[34] In another story depicting a more violent encounter, the Chan monk Xiqian (希遷) came to a village where the inhabitants "show[ed] great respect for ghosts and spirits, offering many lascivious sacrifices." In Daoist as well as Neo-Confucian texts, "lascivious sacrifices" refers to offering animal flesh and wine. Xiquan destroyed the local shrines and walked away with the oxen that had been prepared for sacrifice.[35]

Zhikong explicitly denounced the practice of "lascivious sacrifices (*yinsi* 淫祀)" and supported throughout his life the enactment of the "*bodhisattva* precepts." Despite the fact that he also denounced the use of incantations and holy words merely for the purpose of achieving personal benefits, he did use them at times but only to reduce the suffering of laymen due to floods, droughts or epidemics. And, some examples of prescriptive precepts he kept and overtly stressed include not

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[32] Ibid., 1.
[33] Faure 1991, 258-283.
[34] Zanning 1987, 26.8 (876b).
[35] Ibid., 22.5 (850c). Koichi Shinohara offers the example in the *Gaoseng zhuan* the "meditation master" Tanchao (曇超, 419-492 C.E.) who, due to his "outsider" status at a time of the penetration of Buddhism into local communities in medieval China, was a successful mediator between a dragon and a group of local area villagers. He was able to mediate because the social norms of the time and place of that given locale did not apply to him. The locals perceived him as being empowered, to be able to deal with the dragon, in a way they were not. See Shinohara 1994, 493.

eating meat and not "killing living things (*shasheng* 殺生)," particularly by keeping "vegetable sacrifices (*suji* 素祭)" and not participating in "meat sacrifices (*rouji* 肉祭)." I assert that the representations of Zhikong in primary sources, especially in the travelogue of him written by the Goryeo scholar-official Yi Saek (이색, Li Se 李穡), were guided by the interest in alluding to past biographical images of monks as models for and of a "proper" religious life. Representing Zhikong as a model monk served as a didactic tool for others as to how to act in similar situations.

Just as many monks in the aforementioned eminent monk biographies are portrayed in their youth as well as after they achieved their eminent monk status, Zhikong is portrayed in the works by Minji (민지, Minzi 閔漬) and Yi Saek as having similar representative characteristics and experiences of a future eminent monk as well as one who has achieved that status. I propose that the hagiographic representation of Zhikong in Yi Saek's work includes changes in the East Asian ideal trope of the foreign Buddhist monk.[36] I also propose that other changes were specific to the historical representation of the trope of the wandering Indian Buddhist monk of the esoteric tradition, particularly in association with the Tantric school. Recognizing that Tibetan Buddhism and the Chan school were the predominant versions of Buddhism during the Yuan, and that Neo-Confucian thought with its emphasis on morality was becoming more prevalent, I assert that the representation of Zhikong in Yi Saek's work includes aspects of change in the representation of the ideal antinomian Chan monk to an ideal that placed more emphasis on expressing outward moral virtue by more overtly following precepts. This is, in fact, a re-valorization of an earlier, more conservative trope; that of the wandering Indian master of the esoteric tradition. What historians must do to understand a particular eminent monk is to attempt to uncover a core of historical reality underlying the hagiographical representation. Hagiography has its utility. However, its elasticity as

[36] Also, some of the changes match those of the orthodox scholar-monk and the antinomian Chan monk in the period starting just before the time of the *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* compiled by Zanning, as presented in Keischnick's work.

well as its conservative impulse lay bare its limitations. Therefore, as historians we must be aware of its limitations, while not disregarding its utility, in our goal of representing an historical figure.

Situating Zhikong within East Asian History and Buddhism

In the previous section, I discussed the limitations of reconstructing historical figures such as Zhikong by accepting, at face value, hagiographical representations as historical reality. In this section I introduce a more comprehensive methodology through which to read primary sources, in order to more explicitly re-create Zhikong the historical individual. This dissertation investigates the aspects of Zhikong's education, travel encounters, practice, and teaching that are relevant to determining his understanding of Buddhism. To do so, I emphasize the relationship between the practices and teachings of Zhikong based on the education he received at Nālandā and in Sri Lanka and the belief systems of the peoples he encountered throughout his life and who came to accept his teachings. He may have been one of the very last monks educated in the curriculum of the Nālandā temple-university complex system to have had an influence on the development of Buddhism in China as well as Korea. The breadth of his education at Nālandā in various schools of Buddhism as well as other philosophies and schools of thought, and the development of his practice of meditation under his teacher in Sri Lanka, are evident in the variety of teaching styles and depth of understanding he demonstrated in his encounters during his travels throughout the Indian subcontinent and Tibet that eventually took him to Yuan China and Goryeo Korea. He gained in fame, converts and wisdom along the way, and came to develop his unique form and expression of Buddhism that allowed him to live for decades in the Yuan capital with the support of followers that included Mongol and Goryeo royalty and scholar-officials as well as influential Koryo monastic elites.[37]

The idealized versions of Indian Buddhist monks or eminent East Asian monks were constructed conventions that did not necessarily express the complexities of the personalities or realities of the

[37] The category of followers includes sponsors, donors and disciples.

historical individuals. Not only that, Heller[38] asserts that the demarcations between and descriptions of the "Three Teachings" of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism made the designation of three ethical or religious systems a recognized convention. What we might perceive as having been the secular or popular culture, or religious lay life, in a particular locale and time was more complex that merely one of these three thought forms. No socio-religious phenomenon can easily and clearly be designated as one of the three, or simply as the meaningless yet oft-applied designation of popular religion. As Ter Haar[39] writes, peoples made use of and chose among a variety of existing thought forms that involved mutual influence and close interaction among the elements chosen. Therefore, those who primary source writers referred to as lay Buddhists may merely have been people choosing to use some Buddhist rituals or practices in certain aspects of their lives. In this dissertation, I refer to these rituals or practices as "forms of Buddhism" or "expressions of Buddhist practice."

Robert Buswell[40] cautions against the blurring of the line between the study of hagiography and that of biography. He asserts that Buddhist hagiography in East Asia intends to maintain and perpetuate the achievements of an individual deemed eminent because this individual personified a spiritual ideal. It also serves a didactic purpose, to present a model for spiritual and moral understanding and praxis. The downside of hagiography as "sacred biography" is that it becomes self-perpetuating and mutually imitative so as to be "enacted biography." It devolves into mere trope. Hok-lam Chan[41] writes that "It was common practice of the Chinese official historiographers to employ pseudo-historical, semi-fictional source material alongside the factual, ascertainable date in their narratives for prescribed or didactic purpose despite their commitment to the time-honored principles of truth and objectivity in the Confucian-oriented traditional historiography." Thus,

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[38] Natasha L. Heller, *Illusory Abiding: The Life and Work of Zhongfeng Mingben (1263-1323)* (Ph.D. diss., Dept. of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2005), 7.
[39] Barend J. Ter Haar, "Buddhist-Inspired Options: Aspects of Lay Religious Life in the Lower Yangzi from 1100 until 1340," *T'oung Pao* 87 (2001): 151.
[40] Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "Hagiographies of the Korean Monk Wŏnhyo," in *Buddhism in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).
[41] Hok-lam Chan, *China and the Mongols: History and Legend under the Yuan and Ming* (Ashgate Publishing Company, Brookfield, Vermont, 1999), 83.

Buswell goes on to point out that hagiography gives implicit implications for the character of Buddhism and the version of it of those who take it upon themselves to preserve its ideals, and so this may not reflect characteristics of the individual and may even betray a lack of concern for a "true" portrayal of the individual himself. In the fusion of mythical and historical elements, the onus is on the historian to discover the differences between the ideal (hagiographical) and the actual (biographical).

In the absence of corroborating materials that had not been used in the compilation of a particular eminent monk's biography, it often not easy to separate fact from fiction, or more importantly, an historical individual from troupe, in a biography. The process of reception and production of conceptualizations of the eminent Indian Buddhist monk trope in texts in the East Asian context does allow some degree of change over time of received ideas, from Indian sources as well as from past texts, in order to fit the time and place of the current conceptualization. The imagery may be constantly re-inscribed in new periods and in novel contexts. However, there is no clear demarcation between reception and production of imagery, and some elements constituting an ideal trope may change over time and place. Also, there may be a limited number of texts, especially outside a particular genre, that have corroborating or contrasting information about a particular individual. Therefore, the challenges are to try to distinguish the trope from the individual, the trope from the ideal representation of a particular period or place, and the Indian monk in East Asia from the East Asian conceptualization of such a monk. In this particular case, the challenge is to distinguish the representation of Zhikong in genre-specific primary source texts from Zhikong the individual, the historic conceptualization of the ideal Indian monk from the 14th century East Asian ideal conceptualization, and Zhikong from his contemporary Chinese and Goryeo monks.

I am not suggesting that a process of mere Sinification or Indianization (or even Koreanization) of these figures, as clearly known reified entities, took place,[42] or even that the categories of Indian, Chinese, foreign, or native were clearly defined. Rather, the images of Indian Buddhist figures, and the categories these figures were placed into, were continuously redefined by local agents, and these period- and locale-specific images were recorded in period- and locale-specific primary sources. Taking Campany's suggestion, we must be aware of the "manifold ritual, social, institutional, rhetorical, and narrative processes at work" behind the production and manipulation of idealized images when we attempt to ascertain the events and thought of an eminent Indian monk in East Asia.[43]

Yi Saek wrote Zhikong's travelogue. Yi was a Confucian trained Goryeo governmental scholar-official[44] who lived for many years in the Mongol Yuan capital. The fact that Yi offers a somewhat positive representation of Zhikong during a time in which Neo-Confucianism and its anti-Buddhist sentiment was growing suggests that we should accept with some reservation the perspectives that scholar-officials such as Minji, a classical Confucian who was strongly against Neo-Confucianism, and Yi presented. In addition, the text on Zhikong's thought that I introduce later in this chapter and discuss in detail in chapter five, the *Record of Chan Essentials (Chanyao lu)*, was probably compiled mainly by Goryeo Buddhist monks who were also well-trained in the (Neo-)Confucian tradition. I propose that the primary sources written by both Korean Confucian scholar-officials and Korean Buddhist monks who were disciples of Zhikong reflect the Korean Buddhist lens through which they perceived Zhikong and his thought.

Stuart Young asserts that representations of Indian figures were used in East Asian contexts that suggested "their particular brand of spiritual authority,"[45] His assertion can be taken further. I

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[42] For the form of the "Indianization" process I refer to, see John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); and Kieschnick 1997. As for the "sinification" process, see Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
[43] Robert Campany, "On the Very Idea of Religions (in the Modern West and in Early Medieval China," *History of Religions* 42.2 (2003): 287-319.
[44] He also was well versed in the version of Neo-Confucianism that came from the Song in the early 14th century.
[45] Stuart Young, *The Indian Buddhist Patriarchs of Medieval China* (PhD diss. Princeton University, 2005), 4.

propose that East Asian writers of primary sources that included Indian figures represented them to some degree according to a trope of these figures. On this point, this dissertation shows that descriptions of Zhikong and his encounters inform us about two entirely different but important areas of Buddhism. First, I demonstrate that elements expressed in these descriptions and encounters correspond to those of the East Asian trope of an Indian Buddhist figure. Second, and more importantly, the descriptions and encounters recorded in the primary sources from a range of genres offer insights into the thought forms and expressions of Buddhism that existed throughout the Indian subcontinent as well as Zhikong's own particular form of Buddhism. I look at each of Zhikong's encounters from the perspective of, and understood each as offering information in, these two areas. Most of the encounters only briefly mention where they took place and with whom, which are informative, or what they did. However, for some of the encounters, Zhikong and those who wrote about him chose to include an additional description of the interaction that contains allusions to Buddhist stories, concepts or practices. Their choice to do this reflects their interest in offering layers of meaning to and behind these encounters. In chapter two to four, I discuss these encounters from the variety of levels of interpretation that they offer.

Heungsik Heo, the leading and most prolific scholar of Zhikong, writes that Zhikong was the last "proselytizing monk"[46] to spread the vestiges of Buddhism of Nālandā in northern Indian the furthest into East Asia and have an effect on Buddhism there.[47] Zhikong cautioned against "meditation to observe the critical phrase (*kanhua chan* 看話禪)" becoming stagnant, and asserted his understanding of "no-(defiled) mind *chan*." In his praxis, Zhikong demonstrated standard as well as reformative aspects of precepts of the *vinaya*, teaching and learning. The Goryeo monks that he influenced played an important role in adapting and perpetuating the only Buddhist tradition to survive as a school on the Korean peninsula into and after the Joseon dynasty period, the Jogye Seon Order.

[46] Heo uses the Korean term "prosletyzing monk (*pogyo sa* 포교사, *bu jiaoshi* 布教師)" instead of the Chinese term "missionary monk (*chuanjiao shi* 傳教士)," in order to avoid a Christian connotation.
[47] Heo 1997.

Shinohara discusses Brown's[48] perspective of the manner in which holy men, as outsiders, functioned as "objective mediators" and how the sacred functions to integrate society as "loci of the holy." Sinohara argues that the miracle stories in Huijiao's work, with rainmaking and its associated symbolism a consistent theme, indicate that he believed that those monks who performed them were bearers of the holy and possessed supernatural powers. More importantly, Sinohara asserts that those monks contributed to maintaining order in and the basic structure of society. He interprets these stories as being associated with the proselytizing activities Buddhist monks. They established Buddhist centers by converting local deities by pacifying them with their more powerful magic. This conversion and subsequent obedience of deities is analogous to earning the support and patronage of secular rulers and government officials. The monks helped maintain the basic social order by providing "crisis intervention" to rectify current problems, such as drought, loss of moral order, pestilence, or other crises, that secular officials or rulers had not been able to solve.[49]

On these points, I agree with the views of Yuming Duan[50] and Yang Xuexheng Yang[51] that Zhikong was not only a "loci of the holy" and a transmitter of then-current Indian Buddhism to Yuan China and Goryeo Korea, he was also an "objective mediator" as well as a synthesizer of local religions and Buddhism and converter of local peoples to Buddhism. Zhikong's ongoing attempts at proselytization involved integrating Buddhism with various local indigenous peoples' belief systems. However, he was not always successful. Nonetheless, the trans-Himalayan region

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[48] Shinohara sees a basic pattern. Miracle stories in the biographical work of Huijiao and the later works of others depict encounters between Buddhist monks and other-world beings, such as mountain gods, ghosts, dragons, and so on. The prevalence of miracle stories and the relative importance of the category, vis-à-vis the others, that incorporates them as a or the major aspect of the biographies in it suggests that there must have been a persistent demand for the performance of miracles by Buddhist monks, especially in rural or mountainous areas. Whether the deity-conquering monk stays or continues on does not matter, as the social structure in the locality strengthens its relationship to Buddhism due to the monk's assistance in the preservation of the ruler's or officials' credibility. See Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Later Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: Oxford Press, 1982).

[49] As the monks were either brought in from the outside or arrived at the opportune time, their success or failure to rectify the problem with their magical powers did not necessarily negatively affect the credibility of the local ruler or officialdom. However, if the monk was successful, the credibility of the ruler or government was strengthened by incorporating the function of the monk in its performance of or return to order. Itinerant Buddhist monks were "outsiders" even in places where Buddhism, in its variety of forms and manifestations, might not have been so foreign.

[50] Yuming Duan, "Zhongguohua sengren chanxue zi hubian Yindu sixiang heshang famen chanshi (中国化僧人禅学子汇编印度思想和尚法门禅师)," *Religious Studies* (宗教学 研究). 四川大学道教与宗教文化研究所 (2007c).

[51] See Xuezheng Yang, "Yunnan sheng shehui kexueyuan zongjiao yanjiusuo," *Research Journal of Yunnan Religion* (*Yunnan zongjiao yanjiu*, 云南宗教研究), edited by Xuezheng Yang, 1 (1997).

that includes both China and India was the "cradle of civilization" for both countries, and Buddhism is the oldest and most enduring cultural commonality that these two have shared. But, the inflow into China of Indian Buddhism and its culture had stopped during the Song period. I suggest that that fact that Zhikong had come from India played a key role in the representation of him in East Asian historical records, and contributed greatly to the acceptance of him as an eminent Buddhist monk by particular segments of the secular and Buddhist community, both Chinese and Korean, in the Yuan capital. The various encounters that Zhikong had during his travels, in which he is represented as performing miracles or acts of magic in order to aid the local ruler or the people of the area who were experiencing difficulties, are presented and discussed in chapters three and four.

Concerning the representation in primary sources of Zhikong as a "model monk," I apply Robert Campany's distinction of these terms in his study of religious biography. He holds that "models of" are "descriptive of" the degree to which hagiographic images reflect socio-cultural realities, while "models for" are "prescriptive for" hagiography's intended function of guiding potential practitioners along a prescribed religious path.[52] Following Campany's view that in a hagiographical account "no pre-narrative pure event or pure experience is recoverable… the multiple stories are all there is,"[53] I argue that, through a close examination of the multiple stories of Zhikong, we can ascertain the common historical themes that are perpetuated by the hagiographical representation of him, the period- and local-specific aspects particular to his time and place, and the particular and unique aspects of Zhikong's thought. Thus, the stories of Zhikong's encounters during his travels offer insights into the forms of Buddhism and other "heterodox teachings" in specific areas. I assert that the compilers of the stories, as well as Zhikong himself, structured the presentation of the encounters in such a way so as to introduce, explain or promote specific aspects of Zhikong's thought, teaching or practice. At times, they chose to put

[52] Robert Campany, "The Hagiographic Process and Its Products in Early Medieval China" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, New York, NY, 2003).
[53] Ibid.

only minimal emphasis on introducing the locale-specific situations concerning Buddhism or heterodox thought forms. At other times, the emphasis was on these locale-specific situations. My translations and descriptions of passages from primary sources in chapter two to four demonstrate the variety of foci in the compilers' presentations.

What is more, Yi Saek and Minji as well as some individuals within the emergent and growing Neo-Confucian movement welcomed this resurgence of a conservative and precepts-based Buddhism that monks like Zhikong asserted. The number of private academies increased during the Song and the Yuan as the Confucian-trained literati (scholar-officials) were dissatisfied with the limited opportunities for government service under Mongol rule. The Han Chinese and Goryeo Korean literati were becoming more at odds with the aims of the Mongol-ruled state, and more aggressive in voicing their difference views. They came to valorize education as a part of the personal endeavor of moral cultivation, and less a part of the teaching of others for service to the state and the perpetuation of state structures. In this sense, the self-cultivation of the growing class of disenfranchised Neo-Confucian literati in private academies paralleled the cultivation of Buddhist monks in private cloisters. In this specific area of emphasis on morality, Zhikong's thought (as well as that of Korean Seon sects) was more aligned with Neo-Confucianism than either the Chinese Chan school and sects or Tibetan Buddhism. The beginnings of this emphasis on monastic morality had been occurring in conjunction with the rise of Neo-Confucianism, along with the appropriation of Buddhist themes by Neo-Confucianism as well as the growing rise in acceptance of Buddhism, especially Chan, since the Song period. As I show in chapters five and six, this morality-based conservatism of Zhikong's representative practice of the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" paralleled the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*'s renewed commitment to an emphasis on morality through acceptance of the more comprehensive and restrictive "*bodhisattva* precepts (*pusa jie* 菩薩戒)" system. As I show in chapter five and especially in chapter six, it also paralleled the emphasis on moral education championed by the Goryeo Korean Neo-Confucian

community, and to a lesser extent the Neo-Confucian community in the Yuan. However, Zhikong and his thought were not well-received by the Yuan period Han Chinese Chan Buddhist *sangha*, as it accepted the less comprehensive and restrictive "pure rules of *Chan* (*Chanmen qinggui* 禪門清規)" precepts system.

Themes of This Study

I describe the development and expression of Zhikong's thought through a presentation and discussion of a number of his encounters during his travels throughout the Indian subcontinent, Yuan China, and Goryeo Korea. These descriptions of Zhikong's wide learning and the variety of experiences he had as a teacher highlights the flexibility of application of his understanding of Buddhism as he explored ways to spread his teachings and to gain followers and disciples. Any one of his encounters may be part hagiography, part biography, part history, part geographical description of peoples and cultures, part description of region-specific schools of orthodox Buddhism, indigenized forms of Buddhism, and heterodox religions, sects and cults, as well as elements of each of these belief systems. Any one of his encounters may also be part expression and demonstration of Zhikong's encyclopedic knowledge, understanding, contextualization and application of his wide learning of Buddhism, part critique of the then official thought forms such as Confucianism, Lamaism, and Chan Buddhism, as well as a critique of majority cultures and minoritized peoples within them, by the authors of the primary texts and the sources used in this study. The entirety of my translations and discussions of the encounters allows us to make sense of Zhikong and his thought within the Indian, Sri Lankan, and East Asian contexts that shaped him and that he came to shape in turn.

I contend that while Zhikong preached to peoples of all classes of society, primary sources record that he was closely associated with minoritized or disadvantaged peoples. He spent up to five years among the minority peoples in Yunnan, the most time in any one location aside from that

in his home country and in the Yuan capital. As well, his closeness to the Goryeo Korean expatriate community in the Yuan capitals, as opposed to the majority Han Chinese or the ruling Mongols, affirm this association. Key question arise: Why was he so successful proselytizing, and thus gaining converts, disciples and sponsors, among minority peoples, especially Koreans, and not as successful among Han Chinese and Mongols, especially those that were Buddhists? What elements of his thought, teaching and practice were compatible with those of the former groups but not the latter groups, and why? Why did he stay in the Yuan for up to four decades, and only travel through the Korean peninsula once, when the majority of his disciples and sponsors were members of the expatriate Goryeo community in the Yuan capitals?

I propose that the key esoteric aspects of the soteriological paradigm of practice of the Korean Imje Seon (Linji Chan) sect tradition that the 12th and 13th century Goryeo monk Jinul instituted, that were perpetuated by the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*, paralleled the key aspects of Zhikong's version of Buddhist practice. These common aspects contributed to the widespread acceptance of Zhikong and his thought by Goryeo Buddhist patrons, laymen and monastics during his visit to Goryeo and his life in the Yuan capital. I also propose that these common aspects that Zhikong shared with the Jinul's Imje Seon tradition were not necessarily shared with the orthodox, late-Goryeo, post-Jinul Jogye Seon (Caoxi Chan) Order lineage. Zhikong sought to avoid extreme forms of practice. I posit that key aspects of Zhikong's Buddhism - an emphasis on moral discipline, openness to creative expression of this discipline in praxis, and a practice-oriented acceptance of scriptural study - matched the key aspects of the Korean Seon that Jinul had envisioned, and that the key figures in the Jogye Seon Order lineage were perpetuating at the time of Zhikong.[54] These

[54] In this dissertation, I use the "Revised Romanization of Korean" transliteration system. It renders the spelling of this Koryo monk as Jinul, rather than Chinul. Jae-Ryong Shim, "The Philosophical Foundation of Korean Zen Buddhism: The Integration of Son and Kyo by Chinul (1158-1210)," *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 51 (June 1980): 9-53; Jae-Ryong Shim, "Son Buddhist Tradition in Korea: As Represented by Chinul's Pojo Son," *Korea Journal* 21:8 (August 1981): 14-31; Sung Bae Park, "The Life of the Ven. Chinul," *Korea Journal* 11:2 (February 1971): 19-23; Sung Bae Park, *Buddhist Faith and Sudden Enlightenment* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1983); Robert E. Gimello, "Sudden Enlightenment and Gradual Practice: A Problematic Theme in the Son Buddhism of Pojo Chinul and in the Ch'an Buddhism of Sung China," in *Korean Journal of Chinul Studies* (1990): 165-203; Hee-Sung Keel, *Chinul: The*

aspects were not as highly emphasized in the contemporaneous Chinese Linji Chan sect or wider Han Chinese Buddhist *sangha*.

The reality is that many modern scholars either directly refer to Zhikong as a Chan monk or imply that he was associated primarily with Chan.[55] In chapter three, my translations and discussions of a number of encounters Zhikong had in Sri Lanka and India offer the possibility that he may have been introduced to Chan there even before he arrived in the Yuan. There also exists evidence in his learning, practice, and teachings that specifically referred to other schools of Buddhism.[56] Xuezheng Yang[57] writes that Zhikong "stressed on the commandment[s]," referring the "precepts (*jie* 戒)." Yi Saek wrote that Zhikong's earliest teacher in Nālandā, Vinayabhadra, suggested that he travel to Sri Lanka to study *prajna* doctrines. Here is evidence that Zhikong's early training focused on the Disciplinary (*Vinaya*) school teachings, not the teachings of the Chinese Chan school and sects. Nonetheless, I emphasize throughout this dissertation that his representative paradigm of practice was based on the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" system. In addition, Waley as well as Sorensen[58] and Suh and Lee[59] see Zhikong as definitely "anti-tantric," especially concerning his aversion to ritual sexual practices and blood sacrifices. However, their application of such practices and sacrifices as the main criteria with which to designate Zhikong's teachings as "anti-tantric" gives tantrism an unrepresentatively narrow definition. Throughout this dissertation, I offer numerous examples of Zhikong's expertise in and application of characteristic tantric elements of the Esoteric school, such as "*dhāranī* (*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼),"

Founder of the Korean Son Tradition (Berkeley: Center for South and South East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1984); and Buswell 1983.

[55] Arthur Waley, "New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India," *Melanges Chinois et bouddhiques* 1 (1932): 355-376; Xuezheng Yang, "Zhikong hongyang zhongguo xinan chanxuekao," 云南宗教研究 2 (1995); and XuezhengYang, "Yunnan sheng shehui kexueyuan zongjiao yanjiusuo, 云南宗教研究 1 (1997).

[56] Waley 1932; Henrik H. Sorensen, "Esoteric Buddhism in Korea." *The Study of Korean Esoteric Thought*, (1986): 73-96, ed. Pulgyo Munhwa Yongu Won, Seoul: Tongguk University; Henrik H. Sorensen, "Lamaism in Korea During the Late Koryo Dynasty," *Korea Journal* 33:33 (Autumn 1993): 67-81; Yoon-Kil Suh," The Acceptance & Development of the Linji Son in the Koryo Period," *Son Thought in Korean Buddhism* (1998), ed. The Korean Buddhist Research Institute, Seoul; and Tong-nak Suh and Tae-young Lee,"Some Reflections on the Life of the Indian Buddhist Monk Chigong," *Korea Journal* 29:6 (June 1989): 29-32.

[57] Yang 1997.

[58] Sorensen 1986, 1993.

[59] Suh and Lee 1989.

"mystical invocations (*zhou* 咒, *mantra*) or magical formulae," and "poetic verses (*ji* 偈, *jita* 偈他, *jiatou* 伽陀, *gāthā*)," mainly for the purpose of generating "this-worldly benefits (*xianshi liyi* 現世利益)" to alleviate the suffering of others. Under Mongol influence, Buddhist rites and protective deities from the Tibetan tantric tradition that were adopted into Yuan dynasty imperial ceremonies at court were also adopted into Goryeo imperial ceremonies. This aspect of Zhikong's Buddhist thought clearly distinguished him from that of Tibetan Lamas and these aspects of their tantric practices, and, along with other aspects of his eclectic Buddhism, endeared Zhikong to both Chinese and Korean Buddhists and their anti-tantric sensibilities (or their anti-Lamaist views). Waley also categorized Zhikong as an "old-fashioned Mahayananist" interested in the *Prajñāpāramitā- sūtra* and *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, but cautiously classifies his form of Buddhism as colored with characteristics that have an affinity to the teachings of "sudden Chan."[60]

Throughout his encounters during his travels throughout the Indian subcontinent and East Asia, and while he was living in the Yuan capital, Zhikong continued to emphasize the centrality of "religious precepts (*jie lǜ* 戒律) of the *vinaya* as the fundamental basis of his teachings and practice. I demonstrate that he did this even though he experienced situations in which he could easily have violated the Buddhist precepts in order to avoid hardship. After leaving Tibet and arriving in East Asia, he avoided the conflicts associated with the distinction prevalent there between the emphasis on practice of the Chan school's sects and the emphasis on scriptural study of the doctrinal schools. Instead, Zhikong valued both while enacting a paradigm of practice based on his representative "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts."

[60] Waley 1932, 356.

Organization of This Dissertation

This dissertation consists of an introduction, six chapters, and an epilogue. In the introduction, I begin with a brief synopsis of the key concepts of Zhikong's thought, and his life and journey from Magadha to the Yuan and Goryeo. I then introduce and discuss the differences between biography and hagiography, and its more narrow incarnation, trope, as these differences affect an historian's re-creation of an historical figure. Hagiography and trope have their utility in this re-creation, but we must be aware of and understand their limitations in representing the actual individual. I discuss the importance of using more comprehensive methodology through which to read primary sources from a range of literary genres. This allows for corroboration of data and, thus, the separation of representation from reality, in order to re-create Zhikong the historical figure. My analyses of passages from primary sources shows that Zhikong demonstrated throughout his life the depth of his knowledge, by his education at Nālandā Mahāvihāra temple-university complex and his lifelong ability to continue to learn and adapt, of a variety of schools of Buddhism including the Disciplinary (*Vinaya*), Esoteric, Chan and Huayan schools.

In chapter one, I provide background information on and historical context of those influential figures in the Yuan and Goryeo who were involved in Zhikong's life or legacy, and then I introduce the three main primary sources used in my research. Modern scholar Heungsik Heo (허흥식, Xu Xingzhi 許興植) introduces the works on Zhikong of the early 20th century Buddhist reformers Neunghua Lee (이능화, Li Nenghe 李能和) and the Buddhist reformer Sangno Kwon (권상노, Quan Xianglao 權相老). In 1377, the Goryeo (Neo-)Confucian scholar-official Yi Saek (이색, Li Se 李穡) wrote the most widely-used copy of the "travelogue (*xinglu* 行錄)," or travel record, of Zhikong, which is in the Taisho edition of the *Buddhist Canon*, edited by Takakusu Junjirō (高楠順次郎). Arthur Waley published his English translation from this copy in 1932. An earlier Goryeo period Confucian scholar-official, Minji (민지, Minzi 閔漬), wrote in 1326 the *Preface* for and was

instrumental in the compilation of the texts of the *Record of Chan Essentials by the Monk Zhikong* (*Zhikong Heshang Chanyao lu* 指空和尚禪要錄, *Jigong Hwaseng Seonyeorok* 지공화상선요록), which I abbreviate hereafter in this dissertation as the *Chanyao lu* (禪要錄, *Seonyorok* 선요록). The third main text is the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of the Highest Vehicle* (*Wenshu sheli wushengjie jing* 文殊舍利無生戒經), which I abbreviate throughout this dissertation as the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* (*Wushengjie jing* 無生戒經, *Musaeng Gyegyeong* 무생계경). The *Preface* to this text was written in 1344 by a patron of Zhikong, Wei Su (危素, Wei So 위소). Other influential figures include Zhikong's most influential disciple, the Goryeo monk Naong Hyegun (나옹혜근, Lanweng Huiqin 懶翁慧勤), the Goryeo monk Taego Bou (태고보우, Taigu Poyu 太古普愚), and the Goryeo concubine of Yuan Emperor Shundi who later became the last Yuan empress, Ji Huanghou (奇皇后, Gi Huanghu 기황후).

In chapter two, I first introduce Zhikong's biographic background, and then the problem of establishing the year of his birth and his lifespan. This is because there are no extant texts about Zhikong in India. All primary sources were written in East Asia, the earliest being decades after he was born. Next, I discuss the development of the education system at the Nālandā university-temple complex, and then Zhikong's studies there. After that, I give a quantitative analysis and geographical distribution of the elements of Zhikong's thought, teaching and practice, including the places he passed through and the concepts he applied, as he traveled through the Indian subcontinent and Sri Lanka, and then the Yuan and Goryeo. Finally, in the final two sections of this chapter, I discuss the fundamental question concerning Zhikong. Was his thought, teaching and practice more representative of the Esoteric school, which Nālandā had taught for centuries before Zhikong, or representative of the Chan or Seon schools in China and Korea? Many researchers have asserted that Zhikong's representative thought was specifically Chan. I suggest that the compilers

of the primary sources may have been biased toward interpreting his thought from the perspectives of the Han Chinese Chan school and the Goryeo Jogye Seon Order.

In chapter three, I begin tracing Zhikong's travels and his encounters with the many peoples in various places along the way. I start with his journey to Sri Lanka to study under Samantaprabhāsa. After that, in order to help prove that Zhikong indeed did pass through those places, especially Sri Lanka and along the western border to the Indian subcontinent, I compare them with those that the Moroccan merchant Ibn Battuta visited over thirty years later. Following that, I discuss the historical relationship between esotericism and the Buddhism of the countries of India and Sri Lanka, in order to contextualize Zhikong's Buddhist education and thought. Then, after translating and discussing passages from primary sources on Zhikong's education and enlightenment in Sri Lanka under Samantaprabhasa, I begin to follow Zhikong as he journeyed throughout the Indian subcontinent and into Yuan China.

In chapter four, I present a comprehensive scenario concerning the development of Zhikong's Buddhist thought and the degrees of acceptance of it among various peoples, especially minoritized peoples, as I retrace his journey throughout the Yuan and Goryeo. He stayed up to three years in Shu (蜀), today's Sichuan, and took up to seven years in Yunnan, with about five years founding Zhengxu Temple (Zhengxu Chan Temple (正續禪寺) near Kunming. The time frame was between 1312 and 1321 or 1322. After arriving back in the Yuan capital of Dadu in 1323, he began to establish his support system of disciples and donors. I show that Zhikong's growth included an expansion of his extensive education in Buddhism through the application and testing of his representative thought, teaching and practice among the variety of peoples he encounters. I deal with the encounters with an emphasis on the elements of Buddhism that Zhikong applied in them.

In chapter five, I first discuss the historical context of the Chinese Chan school and sects from the beginning of the Yuan to the time of Zhikong, specifically the responses to the challenges of Mongol rule, the ascension of Tibetan Lamaism, and the rise of Neo-Confucianism. Like what

Indian and Sri Lankan Buddhism had gone through recently, the Buddhist *sanghas* of the Yuan and Goryeo were undergoing changes, specifically concerning monastic codes. During the Yuan, the "pure rules of Chan (*Chanmen qinggui* 禪門淸規)" precepts system was renovated and adopted, while in Goryeo the "*bodhisattva* precepts (*pusa jie* 菩薩戒)" system had become predominant. I discuss the differences in these as they relate to Zhikong's representative "neither arising (nor) non-arising precepts (*wuxing jie* 無生戒)" paradigm of practice. After that, I explicate Zhikong's paradigm of practice in this chapter through my translations and explanations of relevant passages from primary sources that introduced, discussed and applied the key representative concepts that constitute this paradigm. These concepts include "essence (體)," "true emptiness without perceptual characteristics (眞空無相 *zhenkong wuxiang*)," the "three practices (*sanxue* 三學)" of the "precepts, meditative contemplation and wisdom (*jie ding hui* 戒定慧), and "interpenetration (*yiqie jiyi* 一切卽一), or more broadly "interpenetration and non-obstruction (*rongtong wuai* 融通無礙)."

In chapter six, I discuss the elements of Goryeo Buddhism that paralleled the thought, teaching and practices of Zhikong. First, there was the application of representative concepts of Hwaeom school thought such as of "one is many (without obstruction) (*yijiduo* 一卽多)," "one is (included in) everything (*yile yijile* 一了一切了)," and the "*dharma* body (*fashen* 法身)," due to the influence of the Goryeo monk Jinul (지눌, Zhine 知訥). Jinul and Zhikong also advocated the "indivisibility of meditative concentration (practice) and (scriptural) teaching (*chanjiao weifen* 禪敎未分)." Second, in contrast to the texts of the Chinese Chan school, Goryeo Buddhism and Zhikong valued particular texts specifically related to the practice of Buddhist precepts. Third, while the Chinese Chan school favored the "pure rules of Chan" precepts system, the entire Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*, not just the Jogye Seon Order, emphasized the more extensive "*bodhisattva* precepts" system that paralleled Zhikong's neither arising (nor) non-arising precepts" paradigm. Fourth, late Goryeo Buddhism and Zhikong carried out esoteric practices such as *mantras*, the acquisition of "this-

worldly benefits," and the performance of magical acts. On the other hand, Zhikong clearly denounced the "meat sacrifices" and the performance of esoteric sexual rituals (especially at court) that had become prevalent in Goryeo. I also discuss how Naong made use of his association with Zhikong to forward his own political agenda; to revitalize the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* by aligning it the philosophical and political direction of factions in the nation that were growing in influence in the mid- to late-14th century.

In the epilogue, I review the accomplishments of this dissertation by summarizing what I consider to be its contribution to the scholarship on Zhikong's socio-ethical approach and his influences on East Asian Buddhism. I also discuss some of the questions I am left with, my ongoing research, and directions for further research.

CHAPTER 1: CONTEXTUALIZING ZHIKONG, KEY FIGURES IN HIS LIFE, AND THE PRIMARY SOURCES WITHIN INDIAN, YUAN AND GORYEO HISTORY

In this section I introduce the influential individuals who were directly involved in Zhikong's life or legacy, as well as those who have contributed to the study of Zhikong today. I discuss those in the former group in further detail in most of the chapters. Next, I introduce the key primary sources used in my research. There were particular concepts that Zhikong shared with the prominent Chan and Seon sects, as well as other more established schools such as Huayan (Hwaeom) and the Disciplinary (*Vinaya*) schools, in Yuan China and Goryeo Korea. I assert that these concepts that were fundamental in his thought, practice and teaching were not unique to him, and certainly not to Buddhism. What is unique was his soteriological approach to practice and teaching. This has slowly come to light as modern research on Zhikong really began in the 1920s, and has been growing since the last decade of the 20th century.

Influential Figures in Zhikong's Life and Legacy

In certain ways, Zhikong's thought contrasted with that of existing religious traditions, as well as the thought of prominent Buddhist sects in Yuan China and Goryeo Korea. These contrasts were slowly brought to light through the research on Zhikong early in the 20th century. Heungsik Heo (허흥식, Xu Xingzhi 許興植)[61] discusses writings of the late Joseon and early colonial period Buddhist reformers Neunghwa Lee (이능화, Li Nenghe 李能和, 1869-1943) and the Buddhist

[61] Heo 1997, 2-7. Heo took an interest in Zhikong while doing research the history of Goryeo branches of Buddhism in 1986. Heo studied and wrote about the unified theory of the *Dharma* by Naong, who argued that the Korean Sagul sanmun (사굴산문, Shejueshanmen 闍崛山門) school's theory or method of teaching was closely connected to disciples of Zhikong. Heo published nine papers between 1988 and 1994 on Zhikong within the religious tradition of the Jogye sect. Four of them are relevant to and discussed in this study. Heungsik Heo is the preeminent scholar on Zhikong. See also Sangno Kwon, *Naong wangsa ui bosal gyecheop eul bogo bulgyo* (懶翁王師菩薩戒牒佛教) 5 (1924): 11. For Lee's perspective, see Neunghwa Lee, "Stone Tablet Inscription of the Indian Dhyanabhadra (西天提納薄陀尊者碑銘)," 朝鮮佛教叢報 5 (1917): 9; and Neunghwa Lee, "*Joseon Bulgyo Tongsa* (조선불교통사, 朝鮮佛教通史)," 上 상, 新文館 (신문관) (1918): 353-361.

reformer Sangno Kwon (권상노, Quan Xianglao 權相老, 1879-1965).[62] Heo writes that Lee and Kwon had access to primary source materials on Zhikong that are not available today, as these articles may still be in what is today the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.[63] Kwon introduced articles concerning Zhikong that may have been those that Zhikong had originally given to Naong; articles that suggest his confirmation of Naong as his successor. Kwon found these articles at Yujeom Temple (유점사, 楡岾寺) on Geumgang Mountain (금강산, 金剛山), in the DPRK. The original articles were later stored at Hoeam Temple (회암사, *Guiyan si* 檜巖寺), but then were taken to Japan during the colonial period. These articles were also recorded in *the Archeological and Art Historical Documents of the Joseon Dynasty* (朝鮮古蹟圖譜, 조선고적도보).[64] I discuss the significance of these articles and this issue of Zhikong's confirmation of Naong as having receiving transmission from him in more detail in chapter six.

In his 1990 work on Naong's thought and successors, Heo[65] demonstrates that Naong and his successors were associated with the Korean Jogye Seon Order tradition. In three other works,[66] Heo examines how Zhikong's thought was received by those he interacted with, as well as the extent to which his thought was realized practically. Zhikong's thought exhibited the tendency toward the concept of "indivisibility of meditative concentration (practice) and (scriptural) study (*chan jiao weifen* 禪敎未分)," which emphasized the aforementioned "three practices." Also, Zhikong had

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[62] The Buddhist reformer Kwon Sangno may have also been known as Kongdeuk Sanin (공덕산인, Gongde shanren 功德山人).

[63] The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, or DPRK, is commonly known as North Korea.

[64] Heo also discusses two master's theses on Zhikong written in the 1980s. Kim Hyungwoo wrote about the exaggerations in the travelogue/biography of Zhikong, and Nakashima wrote on Zhikong's thought as presented in a version of the *Chanyao lu*. See Hyungwoo Kim, "Hoseung Jigong Yeongu (호승지공연구, 胡僧指空研究)," 동국사학 (東國史學) 18 (1984); and Shirou Nakashima (中島志郎). "범승지공연구 (梵僧指空의 硏究)," 동국대석사학위논문 (東國大碩士學位論文) (1985).

[65] Heungsik Heo, "Naong's Thought and Successors, vol. 1 & 2 (懶翁思想繼承者, 나옹의사상과계승자) 上, 下)," 韓國學報 (한국학보), 一志社 (일지사) (1990): 58-59.

[66] Heungsik Heo, *Jigong's Thought and the Reality of the Demise of Koryo and New Beginning* (指空思想麗末鮮初現實性) (民族史展開文化, 創作ㅡ批評, 1990); Heung-sik Heo, "Zhikong's Travelogue (指空遊歷定着)," 伽山學報 1 (1991); and Heung-sik Heo, "14th and 15th Century Jogye jong Successors and Religious Tradition (14-15 世紀曹溪宗繼承法統 , 세기조계종의계승과법통)." 東方學志 (동방학지) 73 (1991).

more explicit conceptualizations that emphasized the indivisibility of these original and fundamental teachings of Buddhism, and these are shared characteristics of "Southern (*Nanquan* 南泉)" Buddhism. The key representative conceptualizations of Zhikong are "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" and "no-(defiled) mind meditation (*musim seon* 무심선, *wuxin chan* 無心禪)."

Yi Saek (Li Se)

Yi Saek (이색, Li Se 李穡, or Mogeun 목은, Muyin 牧隱, 1328-1396 C.E.)[67] was the famous Goryeo period (Neo-)Confucian scholar-official and statesman, and compiler of the travelogue of Zhikong. Yi was born in 1328 and died in 1396 at Silleuk Temple (신륵사, Shenle si 神勒寺) in Yeoju (여주, Lizhou 驪州), north of today's Seoul in the ROK. In many ways, his life followed the typical Chinese Confucian scholar career course of the Goryeo elite class. Yi wrote a number of biographies of eminent Buddhist monks of his time, including the travelogue of Zhikong as well as the biographical inscription of both Naong and Taego. These texts by Yi for Zhikong and Naong are translated in part and discussed at length in this paper. The writings of Yi, as well as Minji, support the view of Jiang Wu that behind every eminent Buddhist monk there had to be Confucian literati who lent their expertise to Buddhist evidential scholarship research.[68] To add to this, in the case of Zhikong, both Yi and Minji, neither of which were disciples of Zhikong, lent their expertise and status to the promotion of Zhikong and his thought in Goryeo. For Yi, he did this even to the detriment of his own career and legacy.

In 1348, at the age of twenty, Yi traveled to the Yuan capital, today's Beijing, and was admitted to the "emperor's academy (*biyong* 辟雍)." In 1349, at the age of twenty-one, he passed the "lower civil examination (*shengyuan* 生員)" at the Imperial College (*Guozijian* 國子監) of the Yuan and

[67] Hans-Jürgen Zaborowski, *Der Gelehrte und Staatsmann Mogun Yi Saek (1328-1396)* (Wiesbanden. Otto Harrassowitz, 1976); and Heo 1997.
[68] Jiang Wu, "Orthodoxy, Controversy and the Transformation of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-century China" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2002), 163.

studied Song Neo-Confucianism (*xingli xue* 性理學) for three years. For the next twenty years, until about the age of forty-seven, he attended to the state affairs of the Goryeo king Gongmin (공민왕, Gongmin wang 恭愍王 Bayàn Temür, Boyan Tiēmù'ér 伯顏帖木兒, 1330-1374, r. 1351-1374 C.E) as one of his most trusted officials.[69] When king Gongmin was ousted from power, Yi continued to be loyal to him and his vision. For this Yi was banished for a time and even threatened with execution, but then later offered a position in the new government, which he refused. By that time, it was as much his advanced age and long-failing health than his adherence to principle and loyalty to Goryeo that contributed to his refusal to serve.

Yi Saek's contribution to the development of Song Neo-Confucianism in late Goryeo helped lay the groundwork for it to the upcoming Joseon dynasty's core philosophical perspective. However, Yi was somewhat of an apologetic for Buddhism and its place in the future of Korean history. He attempted to find and establish common ground between Confucian and Buddhist doctrines, mainly due to his loyalty to Goryeo and the support of King Gongmin. Yi attempted to validate the position that Buddhism had a place in the changing milieu, as Goryeo had been founded on Buddhist principles. However, the schism among members of the scholar-official class basically amounted to two key camps competing for validation of their views. One was the recently-graduated junior scholars from the National Confucian Academy (Seonggyun gwan 성균관, Chengjun guan 成均館) who would lead the formation of the Joseon Dynasty. This first camp is referred to as the "newly-arisen scholar-official class (*sinheung sadaebu* 신흥사대부, *xinyu shidafu* 新與士大夫)," also as the reform-minded "newly-advanced scholar-official class (*sinjin sadaebu* 신진사대부, *xinjin shidafu* 新進士大夫)" faction. Its members opposed the generational land-owning elder and senior

[69] King Gongmin died in 1374 when Yi Saek was forty-seven. After the enthronement of King Wu (우왕, 禑王, r. 1374–1388 C.E.), many of Gongmin's policies of reform were reversed. So, after the death of Gongmin, Yi Saek's political influence and activities, as well as his health and economic status, began to wane. Yi mostly stayed at home and lived an "idle life (*xianju* 閑居)" of writing, and suffered from illness for much of the rest of his life. He left behind his 55 volume *Collected Works of Mog-eun* (*Mogeun jip*), and promoted and advanced the study of principle and human nature. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

For detailed accounts of the life of Yi Saek, see Zaborowski 1976; and Heo 1997.

members of the National Confucian Academy who were loyal to the rule of the disintegrating Goryeo dynasty. This second camp is referred to as the "establishment scholar-official class (*gweonmun saejeok* 권문세족, *quanmen shizu* 權門世族)." Yi was a member this second camp.

Many of Yi's disciples, most of whom became members of the "new scholar-official class" faction, used Neo-Confucian principles as the ideological basis for overthrowing the King Gongmin's reformist yet corrupt Goryeo dynasty as well as the corrupt Goryeo Buddhist establishment. Jeong Mongju (정몽주, Zheng Mengzhou 鄭夢周, 1337-1392 C.E.), Yi Saek's rival Yi Seonggye (이성계, Li Chenggui 李成桂, 1335-1408 C.E.), who would become the Joseon dynasty King Taejo (태조, Taizu 太祖),[70] Jeong Dojeon (정도전, Zheng Daochuan 鄭道傳, 1342-1398 C.E.) and others were influential members or supporters of the "new scholar-official class,"[71] many of whom had come from military class families, of the late Goryeo period. After the fall of the Yuan in 1368 and shortly after Goryeo king Gongmin's attempts to ally with the newly-forming Ming, Yi Seonggye, a devout Buddhist and fifth-generation scion of a military family that had been supportive of the Gongmin regime, turned against Gongmin and became the leader of the revolution of the activist junior members of this "new scholar-official class."[72] These activist junior members would come to be successful in establishing Neo-Confucianism as the state ideology of the Joseon dynasty.

During the late Goryeo period, the corruption within Buddhism became notorious and abuses were widely committed by the powerful absentee-landlord aristocrats. The group of new and

[70] The "three retirees (*sameun* 삼은, *sanyin* 三隱)" is an old Korean expression used to refer to the "three loyal scholars" during the period of transition from the Goryeo to the Joseon Dynasty, Yi Saek, Jeong Mongju and Kil Jae (길재, Jizai_吉再), who remained devoted to their Goryeo kings even after the dynastic change.

[71] Charles A. Muller, "The Buddhist-Confucian Conflict in the Early Chosôn and Kihwa's Syncretic Response: The Hyôn chông non" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Chicago, November 20, 1994).

[72] In 1392, the militarist Yi Seonggye (1335-1408 C.E.) allied himself with the "new scholar-official class" faction, mostly Yi Saek's former students, to found the Joseon dynasty. Yi Seonggye, as king Taejo (r. 1392-98 C.E.), then purged officials who remained loyal to the former Goryeo regime, and enacted laws to redistribute property from families of the "establishment scholar-official class" to those of the "new scholar-official class." Jeong Dojeon became Taejo's most influential supporter and closest advisor, and the first Prime Minister of the Joseon. Jeong was a harsh critic of Buddhism. Jeong Mongju taught at Yi Saek's Confucian academy, and criticized the moral laxity of Buddhism through Neo-Confucian principles. Jeong was faithful to Goryeo King Wu, and thus was a rival to Yi Seonggye. Jeong was murdered, at Yi Seonggye's order, at a party Yi held for him right after the fall of the Goryeo in 1392.

reformist scholars entered government through their study of Neo-Confucian metaphysics. They were critical of the contradictions within Buddhism, and confronted the powerful and corrupt landed aristocrat class of Goryeo elites. Yi Saek, despite being of the established scholar-official class, also strongly criticized late Goryeo Buddhism for its internal corruption and massive construction projects.[73] He agreed with other Confucian scholars that opposed the economic privileges and excessive government influence that the Buddhist establishment had enjoyed throughout the Goryeo period, and the negative effects of this on the state and its institutions. However, Yi did not explicitly reject Buddhism as a philosophy and religion.[74] Instead, he maintained the Goryeo -period acceptance of the complementary nature of Buddhism and Confucianism, as well as the co-existence of the "Three Disciplines"; Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism.[75] Yi Saek's legacy was negatively portrayed in the early Joseon's *History of Goryeo* because he did not exclude Buddhism in his writing on Neo-Confucianism.[76]

Naong (Lanweng)

Naong Hyegun (나옹혜근, Lanweng Huiqin 懶翁慧勤, 1320-1376 C.E.) was one of many Goryeo "monks that entered the Yuan to study abroad (*ruyuan liuxue seng* 入元留學僧)." In the eleventh month of 1347 at the age of twenty-eight, Naong left Goryeo for the Yuan in order to find

[73] Muller 1994.
[74] Jeong Dojeon was more aggressive than his predecessors as well as his teacher, Yi Saek, in the focus of his criticism of Buddhist philosophy and practice. His anti-Buddhist philosophy was heavily influenced by the writings critiquing Buddhism of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi. His most famous polemic against Buddhism was titled *Buddha's Nonsense* (*Bulssi Japbyeon* 불씨잡변, *Foshi Zabian* 佛氏雜辨). Jeong asserted a number of charges against Buddhism that were not new in the context of the historical antipathy that Confucians held for Buddhism. They included the charge that Buddhism was destructive to the five Confucian relationships, that Buddhists considered material existence and even the world as illusory and thus without value and that only mind was real, and that quiet meditation and inner cultivation were valued much more than everyday affairs and human relationships. Buddhist cultivation used mindfulness to correct the internal but did not apply Confucian cultivation that used righteousness to correct the external. He even asserted that natural calamities followed the appearance of Buddhism and that Buddhists were social parasites due to their practice of praying for alms. See Miller 1994.
[75] Yi T'oegye, *To Become a Sage: The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*, trans. Michael C. Kalton (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1988).
[76] Jae-eun Kang and Suzanne Lee, *The Land of Scholars: Two Thousand Years of Korean Confucianism* (Paramus, N.J.: Homa & Sekey Books, 2006), 158.

a "teacher to help him attain ordination (*dedu shi* 得度師)."[77] He arrived at Fayuan Temple (法源寺) in Dadu (Beijing) in the third month of 1348, and began his almost ten-year relationship with Zhikong. Zhikong was staying at Fayuan Temple at that time through the support of a "main sponsor (*tan yue* 檀越)" of his, a Goryeo woman of the Kim clan (김, Jin *shi* 金氏) who was the wife of the Mongol (Huiqi *ren* 回訖人) government official named Chahan Temur (Zhaihantemuer 祭罕帖木兒).

Zhikong and Naong exchanged "verses (*ji* 偈)," "*gāthā* (*quituo* 伽陀)" and "verses of praise (*song* 頌)" in relation to Naong's "received instructions (*chui yu* 垂語)" from Zhikong during the decade he spent in the Yuan. Especially important was the "question and answer exchange (*wendui* 問對)" Zhikong engaged in with Naong in the first month of 1349 in the "abbot's chamber (*fangzhang* 方丈)" and in front of an audience.

In the third month of 1350, Naong left Zhikong and Fayuan Temple "to travel to extend his knowledge of Buddhism (*youli jianwen* 遊歷見聞)." For three years Naong met with "great masters (*jujiang* 巨匠)" of the Yangqi branch of the Linji sect in the southern part of the Yuan. He received the symbols of transmission from Pingshan Chulin (平山處林, or Pingshan Heshang 平山和尚, 1279-1361 C.E.), and then returned to Fayuan Temple in the third month of 1353. In his audience with Zhikong upon his return, Naong received the symbols of transmission also from Zhikong; "robe and alms bowl of transmission (*chuan yibo* 傳衣鉢)" representing meditative contemplation, a "fly whisk (*fuzi* 拂子)" representing the precepts, and a "letter written in Sanskrit calligraphy

[77] The expression "*dedu* (得度)" has two specific meanings in Buddhism, depending on the context. In this case, it refers to the intent by Naong to "receive ordination" as a monk under a Chinese master. The other meaning, as discussed in chapters three and four, refers to "being saved," or to "cross over" from "this shore" (*samsāra*) of delusion to the "other shore" (*nirvana*) of enlightenment. See Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010

The "ordination certificate (*jiedie* 戒牒)" exists, but it suggests that Naong was eight years old at the time. Other records do not support that Naong was this age. See Huigyeong Gwon, *Research on Goryeo Scriptural Copies* (고려사경의 연구, 高麗寫經研究) (Mijinsa 미진사, 1986), 435-438.

(*xinshu fanzhi caoshu* 信書梵字草書)" representing wisdom.[78] Zhikong hoped that Naong would realize "incisive wisdom (*qianjian* 千劍)"[79] in his continuing practice.

Naong returned to the capital and spent a month in Fayuan Temple with Zhikong before traveling to various places near Yanjing. His fame reached the Yuan Emperor Shundi, who persuaded Naong to take the position as head of Guangji Chan Temple (廣濟禪寺) in Dadu (Beijing) on the fifteenth day of the tenth month of 1356.[80] Naong oversaw the "shrine-opening ceremony (*kaitang fajui* 開堂法會)" in which he prayed for the emperor's mercy, and burned incense in the ceremony in which he praised the "nourishing teachings (*faru* 法乳)" of Zhikong as the 108th heir of the Chan tradition and monk Pingshan for the development and dissemination of his thought concerning Buddhism during the Yuan.[81] In 1357 Naong stepped down as head priest of Guangji Chan Temple, traveled, and then returned to Fayuan Temple in order to meet Zhikong for the last time. At that meeting, Zhikong told Naong that it was time for him to return to Goryeo to continue to develop Buddhism there. In the third month of 1358 Naong left for Goryeo, and so had been in the Yuan almost exactly ten years. In 1358 he met with King Gongmin, and in 1371 became the "Royal Preceptor (Wangsa 왕사, Wangshi 王師)."

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[78] "Written Record of Buddhist Monk Lanweng (懶翁和尙語錄)," *Entire Collection of Korean Buddhist Works* (*Hanguk pulgyo chons*, 韓國佛教全書), vol. 6 (Seoul: Tongguk University Press, 1984), 710b.

[79] Ibid., 710b. Naong also credits Zhikong as praising Pingshan's "insightful wisdom," in the phrase, "Zhikong shouts the praises of Pingshan's 'insightful wisdom' (*Zhikong qianjian Pingshan he* 指空千劒平山喝)."

The concept "incisive wisdom (*qianjian* 千劍)," or "one thousand double-edged swords," refers to the incisive wisdom of one who has realized enlightenment; that one is now able to continue to see the fundamental truth in all things he encounters. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

[80] "Quotes of the Monk Naong (나옹화상어록, 懶翁和尙語錄)," Guangju Chan Temple Hall Opening 광제선사개당 (廣濟禪寺開堂), in *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* (한국불교전서, 韓國佛敎全書) (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, Vol. 6, 1984), 711-712.

[81] "Written Record of Buddhist Monk Lanweng," 1984, 709b.

Minji (Minzi)

Minji (민지, Minzi 閔漬, 1248-1326 C.E.), a renowned Goryeo Confucian scholar, diplomat and historian. Minji was one of the most celebrated Confucian-trained scholars of his time, but he was known for his objection to the growing embrace of Neo-Confucian ideas. According to Ikju Lee,[82] the reason for Minji's reluctance to fully accept Neo-Confucian ideas from the Yuan was more political than philosophical, as the reign of King Chungryeol (충렬왕, Zhonglie wang 忠烈王, 1236-1308, r. 1275-1308 C.E.) was a period in which the Goryeo court was attempting to assert its independence from the Mongol Yuan. Through his diplomatic efforts, which included his offer to marry one of Khublai Khan's daughters, Chungryeol was able to gain certain concessions that allowed a degree of autonomy. These included Mongol troop retreat from much of Goryeo territory, as well as the reinstitution of national authority concerning census registration and taxation. However, internal disputes of Chungryeol's policies by reform-minded groups led Minji to adopt an aloof position, not befitting his status, concerning his king's policies. Minji did so because he feared that openly going against Chungyeol's accommodating attitude toward the Yuan would lead to Goryeo further losing its already precarious position with the Mongols. King Chungseon (충선왕, Zhongxuan wang 忠宣王, 1275-1325, r. 1298 and 1308-1313 C.E.) adopted a more conciliatory position toward the Mongols, and his official Goryeo policies reflected his position. In fact, he preferred living in the Yuan capital Beijing to Goryeo's Gaegyeong. In response, Minji refused to continue in government service and instead concentrated on compiling texts on history as his attempt to preserve traditional Goryeo culture and defend the nation. This included a refusal to accept Neo-Confucian thought from the Yuan as Minji felt it would contribute to instability of the Goryeo politically and taint traditional Goryeo culture.

[82] Ikju Lee, "민지의 사례를 중심으로." The Organization of Korean Historians (한국역사연구회), 역사와현실 제 49 권, 학술저널 (2003.9): 125-154.

Minji was very interested in what he viewed as the syncretic thought of Zhikong, just as he was becoming known in Yuan and Goryeo. Minji wrote about the "magical conception of history (*shinyi saguan* 신이사관, *shenyi shiguan* 神異史觀)," the view from the inception of Buddhism in Korea that it was closely associated with national protection and dynastic development. Reinforcement and stability of royal authority was the best way to maintain Goryeo independence. Like Yi Saek, Minji was a supporter of the Goryeo royal house and its independence from the Yuan. Minji also believed in the syncretic nature of Buddhism of Goryeo, and advocated the view that there were interchanges among the existing schools of the early "Nine Mountain Schools," including the Sagul sanmun school (사굴산문, Shejue shanmen 闍崛山門).[83] Minji wrote the *Preface* to a key text concerning Zhikong, the *Chanyao lu*, which I introduce later in this chapter. He died on November first in 1326, only a few short months after he wrote the *Preface* to the *Chanyao lu*.

Others

During late Goryeo and when Zhikong was in East Asia, "Taego's unified theory of Buddhism (Taego *beomtong seol* 태고법통설, Taigu *fatong shuo* 太古法統說)" prevailed.[84] The Goryeo monk Taego Bou (태고보우, Taigu Poyu 太古普愚, 1301-1382 C.E.) was initially a Hwaeom (Huayan) scholar of the *Avatamsaka sūtra*. In 1333, Taego realized enlightenment through Chan

[83] The "Nine Mountain Seon Schools (선종구산, Chanzong jiushan 禪宗九山)" that Minji asserted interacted with each other include Sagul sanmun, Gaji sanmun (가지산문, Jiashi shanmen 迦智山門), Myoryeonsa (묘련사, Miaolian she 妙蓮社) and the main existing or Chan school (Seonjong 선종, Chanzong 禪宗), as well as exchanges between the Yoga school (Yugajong 유가종, Yujia zong 瑜伽宗) and the study school (*gyojong* 교종, *jiaozong* 敎宗). Minji also reintroduced the theory suggested by Enlightened National Preceptor (Bogak guksa 보각국사, Pujue guoshi 普覺國師) Ilyeon (일연, Yiran 一然, 1206-1289 C.E.), compiler of the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samkuk Yusa* 삼국유사, *Sanguo Yishi* 三國遺事), that "Buddhism came from the south (*nanfang fojiao chuanlai shi* 南方佛敎傳來設)." See Ikju Lee 2003, 125-154.

[84] Baegun Gyeonghan and Naong Hyegeun were influenced by the thought and syncretism of Jinul, and all three advocated in scriptural study and a strong understanding of Confucianism and Daoism to augment their *seon* practice. They introduced the trend among Korean Buddhist monks to teach the "three teachings" of Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism.

practice by penetrating the "no-public case (*wu gongan* 無 公案).[85] In 1341 he resided at Jungheung Temple (중흥사, Zhongxing si 重興寺) on Mt. Samgak (삼각산, Sanjiao shan 三角山), on the Mt. Bukhan (북한산, Beihan shan 北漢山) range located just north of today's Seoul. So, like Naong, Taego realized enlightenment in Goryeo before going to the Yuan for further study and to widen the scope of his Chan credentials by receiving *Dharma* transmission. In 1346, Taego went to Yuan China and spent two years there studying Linji Chan.[86] He returned to Goryeo in 1348 and became a transmitter of the Linji Chan tradition of Dahui Zonggao (大慧宗杲, 1089-1163 C.E.), which emphasized reflection on the "head phrase (*huatou* 話頭). He was invited to be both "National Teacher (*Gugsa* 국사, *Guoshi* 國師)" and "Royal Preceptor" in 1356. Like that of Jinul, Taego's thought was based on unifying and harmonizing the doctrinal and practice schools of Buddhism by stressing that the study of doctrine is an expedient means for attaining entry and middle states of consciousness and that the intellectual study and understanding of sutras is not in opposition to the practice of meditation. In addition, Taego expanded his syncretic perspective and came to believe that the practice of "recollecting the Buddha (*nianfo* 念佛)" of the Pure Land school was to be done not for rebirth but to have the mind and chanting become one so as to be mindful of Amitaba's characteristics. Therefore, this practice put one's discriminating mind in a state in which the realization of one's "True Nature," or enlightenment, might occur. Thus, for Taego, *nianfo* recitation was similar, in terms of function, to the Linji sect's investigation of "public cases." I explain specific differences that distinguish the thought of Zhikong from that of "Taego's unified theory of Buddhism" in chapter six.[87]

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[85] This "public case" asks one to focus meditative concentration on the famous question, "Does a dog have Buddha-Nature?"

[86] Taego received transmission of the *Dharma* of the Linji Chan sect from Shiwu Qinggong (石 屋 清 珙) of Xi Xiawu Mountain (西霞雾山) near Huzhou city (湖州) in Zhejiang province (浙江). See Jeong-bae Mok, "The Modern Significance of Sudden Awakening," in *Son Thought in Korean Buddhism*, ed. Jeong-bae Mok (The Korean Buddhist Research Institute. Seoul, Korea: Dongguk University Press, 1998), 159.

[87] The recent head of the official Korean Seon Order, Seongcheol (성철, Xingche 性徹 1912-1993 C.E.), advocated the primacy of the "sudden enlightenment, sudden cultivation (*tono tonsu* 돈오돈수, *dunwu dunxiu* 頓悟頓修)" paradigm, as opposed to Jinul's stance of "sudden enlightenment, gradual cultivation (*tonno jomsu* 돈오점수, *dunwu jianxiu* 頓悟漸

Zhikong's main disciples, as well as other key figures who had interest in Zhikong's thought, led the changes in late Goryeo Buddhism that would allow it some degree of adaptation to the soon-to-come and much more restrictive environment of the Neo-Confucian, and anti-Buddhist, Joseon Dynasty. As mentioned before, they include Naong (Lanweng), Baegun Gyeonghan (백운경한, Baiyun Jingxian 白雲景閑),[88] National Teacher Daeji (Daeji Gugsa 대지국사, Dazhi Guoshi 大智國師), Jicheon (지천, Zhiquan 智泉), Okjeon (옥전, Yutian 玉田), and Dalon (달온, Dayun 達蘊). The main disciples of Naong were Muhak Jacho (무학자초, Wuxue Zichao 無學自超), Hwanam (환암, Huanan 幻庵), and Honsu (혼수, Hunxiu 混修).

Yi Gok (이곡, Ligu 李穀, 1298-1351 C.E.)[89] described the charity work activities of the last Yuan empress, Gi (Gi Huanghu 기황후, Ji Huanghou 奇皇后, ?-1370), in Dadu (Yanjing). She was born in Haeng prefecture (행주, Xingzhou 幸州) in Koryo. Her name was Gi Ja O (기자오, Ji Ziao 奇子敖). She arrived in the Yuan capital in the 1330s as a tea servant. Her Mongolian name became Öljei Khutugh (Wanshehudu 完者忽都). In the following decades, she became a concubine of the last Yuan emperor Shundi (順帝, Hui Zong 惠宗, Toghan-Temür, b. 1320, r. 1333-1367).[90] She bore Shundi a son named Ayushiridar. In 1365 C.E., with the death of the Shundi's principle wife, became the Empress. Concubine Gi patronized Fayuan Temple, the temple in the capital that Zhikong stayed in. I discuss her relationship with Zhikong's in more detail in chapter six.

修)," thus asserting the view that Taegu Bou, rather than Jinul, was the correct successor of the Koryo Imje (Chinese Linji) sect.

[88] Gyeonghan is also known as National Teacher Baegun (Baegun Wangsa 백운화상, Baiyun Wangshi 白雲王師).

[89] Yi Gok (이곡, 李穀), "Collected Words of Yi Kok (Kajong-jip) Record of Dadu's Tiantai Fawang si," in *Taedo Ch'ont'ae Pobwang-sa ki*. Vol. 4 (1354).

[90] Shundi was the 10th and final Mongol Yuan emperor. He was exiled off the coast of Goryeo at the age of 10, and then to Guilin in China at the age of 12. He ascended the throne in 1333 at the age of 13. He was educated by a Chinese monk, but later and as emperor he became self-indulgent in religions and cultic practices due to the influence of Tibetan Lamas. See Frederick Mote, *Imperial China 900-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 471-472, 579.

Yi Gok also writes that a number of wives of influential officials, many of whom appear to have been Goryeo women,[91] were disciples or patrons of Zhikong. One example is a concubine from Goryeo whose family name was "Chang (창, Chang 常)." In the Yuan capital she requested an ordination ceremony at Chongren Temple (崇仁寺) from Zhikong for her to become a Buddhist. A second who supported Zhikong during his trip through Goryeo was "concubine Mi (미, Wei shunfei 未順妃)," of the Goryeo royal family and wife of the Goryeo court Prime Minister Dashun (Dashun chengxiang 大順丞相, Daesun Seungsang 대순승상),[92] who also received the precepts from Zhikong. A third was the wife of a high Mongol official. She was of the "Kim clan (김, Jin *shi* 金氏)" of Goryeo, and a "female believer of Buddhism (*nǚ xintu* 女信徒)." Zhikong "gave the precepts" to her, and she bought a house for him in the Chengqing district (澄清里) of the Yuan capital of Dadu.

Relevant Primary Sources

Zhikong wrote most of his writings (mainly copying), including a copy of the *Heart Sutra* in Sanskrit, during his "travels (*youli* 遊歷)" and thus before he settled in Dadu. His writings included "scriptural copying (*xiejing* 寫經)," "*sutra* translations (*yijing* 譯經)," "and scriptural translations (*fojing* 佛經)," However, primary source materials that he left at Fayuan Temple, the temple that he was associated with throughout the majority of his years in the capital, have not yet been recovered.

Six types of scriptures that Zhikong copied were discovered but have subsequently been lost, and not all are mentioned in extant epitaphs relating to him. These can be generally categorized as simple scriptures pertaining to Buddhist monastic and lay "practices (*yishi* 儀式)," relating to his representative concept of "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" and "true words," associated

[91] Many of these women were demanded of Goryeo royalty by Mongol as "tribute wives (*gong nǚ* 貢女)."
[92] The position / 大順丞相 could refer to "most senior minister" during the Goryeo and the Yuan.

with the Esoteric school. The six types of scriptures are the "great Buddha-peak (*dafoting* 大佛頂)" of the Esoteric school, the "*mantra* to make one's wish come true (*ruyi zhou* 如意呪)," the "*mantra* of great compassion (*dabei zhou* 大悲呪)," the "*mantra* of the Honored Victorious One (*zhushen zhou* 尊勝呪)" of the esoteric sect, the "*Heart Sutra* in Sanskrit (*fanyu xinjing* 梵語心經)," the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit (*fanzi Banruo jing* 梵字般若經), and the "true words to bestow food on hungry ghosts (*shishi zhenyan* 施食眞言)." According to Heo,[93] all of these types of scriptures had been preserved, along with a "mask (*jiamian* 假面)" that he used and a "clay figurine (*suxiang* 塑像)" of him, at Hwajang Temple (화장사, Huazang si 華藏寺)[94] near Gaesong (개성, Kaicheng 開城, known as Gaegyeong during the Goryeo), which is today in the DPRK. However, in the 1920s they were all stolen or lost, except for the clay figurine.[95] Since then, these materials have not been accessible to Western scholars.

As Zhikong did not emphasize writing, he did not have or write many texts during his life, and few of his writings remain. Those that do exist have been found in the Republic of Korea (ROK, or South Korea), despite the fact that he was in Goryeo for only two years and seven months of his life. The fact that a majority of his works either were or are still extant on the Korean peninsula is an indication of the influence Zhikong had on Korean Buddhism. Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong briefly mentions scriptural copies that he left.

I examine relics and materials, as well as research pertaining to Zhikong, to determine the validity of depictions of him as a monk with "psychic (or spiritual) powers (*shenseng* 神僧)" and

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[93] Heo 1997, 67-68.

[94] In 1352, Gaegyeong (개경, Kaijing 開京), or Songak (송악, Songyue 松嶽), changed its name to Gaesong. Hwajang Temple was near both Gaesong and Hansong (한성, Hancheng 漢城), today's Seoul, at a main transit point along the route from the peninsula to Geumgang Mountain (금강산, Jingang shan 金剛山). There is evidence that the Sanskrit version of these scriptures that Zhikong wrote while in Yunnan had been kept in Hwajang Temple until the 1920s. See Kang Kyosu, "朝鮮藏寺 의 梵莢 印度指空三藏," 宗教研究 3-5 (1926).

[95] Jinho An, 전등사본말사지담 (傳燈寺本末寺誌談), 1932.

one who used the mystical utterances of "true words"[96] to perform "miracles (*yiji* 異蹟)." However, my primary emphasis is to understand the formative process and establishment of his thought. Not all of the many relics and remains on the Korean peninsula pertaining to Zhikong are accessible, due to the ROK-DPRK division. Nonetheless, along with those, "rubbings (*taben* 拓本)" of "epitaphs (*beiwen* 碑文)," [97] Zhikong's written records and translations, stele inscriptions, and portraits at a number of temples established or renovated to commemorate Zhikong still exist in Korea as well as China.

Zhikong's extant translations and writings emphasize three categories; "religious precepts (*jie lǜ* 戒律)," specifically the "truth of the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts," "meditative concentration (*chan* 禪)," and a soteriological paradigm of practice based on enactment of the "three practices" of classical Buddhism; rules of morality (*śīla*), meditative concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). Zhikong did not write Chinese, but did have assistance transliterating key Sanskrit texts into Chinese. The literary materials attributed to him can be categorized as translations, writings, and scriptural copies (including a copy of the *Heart Sutra* in Sanskrit, which was taken in the 1920's to Japan's Royal Family (National) Museum (Nihonoshitsu-Hakubutsukan 日本王室博物館, Riben Wangshi Bowuguan), as well as secondary materials written in Chinese by Zhikong's disciples.[98] There currently are portraits of Zhikong alone, or along with his disciples Naong (Lanweng) and Muhak (Wuxue), at various temples on the Korean peninsula. These are Hoeam Temple (회암사, Guiyan si 檜巖寺), Hwajang Temple (화장사, Huazang si 華藏寺), Silleuk Temple (신륵사, Shenle si 神勒寺), Anshim Temple (안심사, Anxin si 安心寺), Tongdo Temple (통도사, Tongdu si 通度寺), and Haein Temple (해인사, Haiyin si 海印寺). While there

[96] The concept of "true words" is associated with the "Esoteric (*Mizong* 密宗)"school as well as Chan. "True words" refers to *mantra*, or short *dhāranī*, a mystical sound revealed to one in meditation and subsequently recited during meditative practice, that has the power to elicit desired results. It is sometimes translated as "incantation or mystical invocation (*zhou* 咒)."
[97] Epitaphs are inscriptions on stone or stele tablets.
[98] Kang 1926.

are relics pertaining to and articles on Zhikong in China, Korea and Japan, none have been found or written in India, despite the fact that his travelogue by Yi Saek offers descriptions of places he visited as well as peoples, religions and customs he encountered there.

It is outside the scope of this study to delve into the thought of all of Zhikong's aforementioned main disciples, who were among the most influential Buddhist figures prior to and at the beginning of the Joseon Dynasty. Nonetheless, they were instrumental in perpetuating hagiographical representations of Zhikong in Korea during the Joseon dynasty. Zhikong chose Hoeam Temple and its site to commemorate his initial training center, because its surrounding geography reminded him of the area around Nālandā university-temple complex in northern India where he had received his primary education and training. After Zhikong's death, Naong initiated the expansion of Hoeam Temple. After Naong, his student Muhak continued this expansion due to the support of King Taejo (태조, Taizu 太祖, or Yi Seonggye 이성계, Li Chenggui 李成桂) and the Hoeam Temple became early Joseon's largest and most influential Buddhist temple and the one that received the most state support under the new Neo-Confucian administration.

Record of Chan Essentials by the Monk Zhikong (Chanyao lu)

The various epitaphs written to pass on information about Zhikong transmitted the information in many forms. Often, the writers of later epitaphs merely copied only one existing epitaph, or even only a part of it. Due to this practice, there are wide differences in the contents of the epitaphs in terms of amount and type of information on Zhikong, as well as in correctness of it. Our understanding of Zhikong's thought is supplemented by analects or travelogues left in epitaphs and by his disciples, and these primary source material offer insight into understanding why there were conflicts between his thought and the forms of thought throughout Yuan society of that time. Therefore, a comprehensive approach to a thorough understanding of the life activities and thought of Zhikong demands that one not rely on the information presented on just one epitaph.

In general, Zhikong's thought in the writings and scriptural translations can be divided into the oft-mentioned "three practices." These are summarized in his representative and most comprehensive work, *Record of Chan Essentials by the Monk Zhikong* (*Zhikong Heshang Chanyao lu* 指空和尚禪要錄, *Jigong Hwasang Seonyeorok* 지공화상선요록), abbreviated as the *Chanyao lu* (禪要錄, *Seonyorok* 선요록).[99] A number of printed copies and manuscripts of this text exist today. While only one copy contains the *Preface* by the Goryeo Confucian scholar Minji, written at the age of seventy-nine in the eighth month of 1326. It appears that the other parts of the text were written near the time Minji wrote the *Preface*, and made available to people throughout Goryeo. However, the entire compilation was not published until 1474. All other extant copied versions have virtually the same contents and format. While the *Chanyao lu* includes Zhikong's Buddhist hymns, translations, and religious precepts, as well as *sutra* translations associated with rituals, it contains few specifics on Zhikong's teachings to his disciples. This is because he had only been in the capital for a short period, and had had little time to convert and gather disciples before the *Chanyao lu* was written. Nonetheless, after Zhikong died, his followers and successors comprised perhaps the most infulential faction in the Buddhist *sangha* in the final decades of the Goryeo Dynasty and at the beginning of the Neo-Confucian Joseon Dynasty. The original version of the *Chanyao lu* is thought to have been stored in Dadu at Fayuan Temple, the residence that a Goryeo expatriate female sponsor provided for Zhikong, and to have been moved to the peninsula during the Joseon dynasty period decades after Zhikong's passing.

The most comprehensive account of Zhikong's birth and life, up to five months into his two year and seven month stay in Goryeo that began in 1326 (and over two years after his arrival in the Yuan capital), is recorded in this text written by Minji in 1326 (the 13th year of Goryeo king Chungsuk Wang, Zhongsu Wang 忠肅王, and the 3rd year of Yingzong 英宗 of the Yuan) shortly after

[99] *Record of Chan Essentials by Monk Zhikong* (指空和尚禪要錄 *Zhikong Heshang Chanyao lu*, 지공화상선요록 *Jigong Hwaseng Seonyorok*), in *Koryoro olmkin Indo uii tungpul: Chigong sonhyon*, Heungsik Heo (Seoul, T'ukpyolsi: Ilchogak, 1997), 315-331.

Zhikong arrived in Goryeo. Minji's "epitaph (*biwen* 碑文, *bimun* 비문)" is the *Preface* to the *Chanyao lu*. Minji's *Preface* is entitled *Preface to Important Points on the Mind Passed Down by Buddhist Patriarchs of the Indian Sects* (佛祖傳心西天宗派旨要序), in the eighth month of 1326, in order to quickly publish information about him to satisfy the demands of the Goryeo people who had already come to know about him. Minji was in ill health when he wrote the *Preface*.[100] In fact, Minji passed away on the first day of the eleventh month of 1326, shortly after he wrote the *Preface*.[101]

The *Chanyao lu* was compiled and edited, and then published, by Zhikong's disciples during the Joseon period. The emphasis of the contents of the text is a limited expression of his thought, specifically on the explication of the "sudden and eternal great way of (neither arising nor) non-arising (*dunjiu wusheng dafa* 頓久無生大法)" concept. The *Chanyao lu* is comprised of six texts, four minor and two major texts. They were written at different times within a one-hundred and fifty year period, from 1326 to the initial compilation of the entire group of six texts in 1474. Two of the texts, the major *Important Points on the Mind Passed Down by Buddhist Patriarchs of the Indian Sects* text[102] and the minor text preface to it, were initially written by Minji in the eighth month of 1326, and were subsequently copied and compiled along with the other four text into the completed *Chanyao lu* text in 1474. The *Important Points on the Mind Passed Down by Buddhist Patriarchs of the Indian Sects* text records the seven Buddhas up to Sākyamuni and the representative "verse (*ji* 偈)" of each of them, and then the 108 generations since Kāśyapa (*Jiaye* 迦葉) up to Zhikong as

[100] At the end of the *Preface*, Minji wrote "七十九目暗于筆," meaning that he wrote it, in the eighth month of 1326, with "eyes that were not so bright at the age of 79." He would pass away only a few months later. See Minji (민지, 閔漬 Minzi), "*Preface to important points on the mind passed down by Buddhist patriarchs of the Indian sects* (佛祖傳心西天宗派旨要序)," (서울대소장 寫本 1326.8, 고려대분 1474 년 刊本). In Heo, 1997, 315-316.

[101] Hyungu Min, "Minji wa Lee Jaehyeon (閔漬와 李齊賢)," 孝丙燾士旬紀念, 韓國史學論叢. 和識産業祉, 1987.

[102] Minji (민지, 閔漬 Minzi). *Important Points on the Mind Passed Down by Buddhist Patriarchs of the Indian Sects* (佛祖傳心西天宗派旨要). 서울대소장 寫本 1326.8, 고려대분 1474 년 刊本 compiled. (reprinted in Heo 1997, 315-323); and Minji, *Preface to Important Points on the Mind Passed Down by Buddhist Patriarchs of the Indian Sects* (佛祖傳心西天宗派旨要序), 서울대소장 寫本 1326.8. (reprinted in Heo 1997, 315-316).

well as the verse of each of them. This text can be read as the "verses of mind transmission (*chuanxin jie* 傳心偈)" text. Two other texts[103] are short and minor ones.

A fifth text, Zhikong's *True Teachings*,[104] is the main text. Its full title is *Important points on the Gateway to Liberation via the Sudden and Eternal Great Way of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising*. It is the main text in the compilation as it records a summary of Zhikong's thought specifically concerning the "way of (neither arising nor) non-arising" This text describes Zhikong's interpretation of "the wondrous principle of (neither arising nor) non-arising (*wusheng miaoli* 無生妙理)," based on the principle of negation of negation; of non-production and non-arising. This concept is inseparably related to the aforementioned "three practices." Thus, Zhikong's thought is clearly not only limited to Chan school or Chan thought. The remaining text in this compilation of six texts is a minor one. The initial version of the *Chanyao lu* was finally published as a whole in the summer of 1474 C.E. at Fayuan Temple in Dadu by Zhikong's Goryeo disciples. My translation and discussion of key passages concerning Zhikong's thought from the *Chanyao lu*, as well as short passages from others texts, are in chapter five.

Collectively, the compilation of the six individual texts that comprise the *Chanyao lu* represents an attempt to comprehensively organize the thought of Zhikong as it both contrasted and correlated with the thought of the more established Chan school sects in the Yuan and the orthodox Jogye Seon Order in Goryeo. The *Chanyao lu* is the compilation of texts that most comprehensively includes Zhikong's thoughts on Chan as well as other schools of Buddhism. Nonetheless, this text show that his genealogy is connected with Chan, as the inheritance that Zhikong received from

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[103] *Preface to Important Points on the Gateway to Liberation via the Sudden and Eternal Great Way of (Neither Abiding Nor) Non-abiding* (頓久無生大法解脫門指要序). 서울대소장, 고려대분 1474년 刊本 initial compilation. (reprinted in Heo 1997, 323); and *Hymns of the Chan Staff* (*Song Chanbang* 頌禪棒). (reprinted in Heo 1997, 323-324). *Hymns of the Chan Staff* is in the form of "old moral poems (*gu lüshi* 古律詩)" that express Zhikong's thoughts on the primacy of morality.

[104] (*Zhikong's*) *True Teachings* ([指空] 真旨 [*Zhikong*] *Zhenzhi*). (reprinted in Heo 1997, 324-329). It is also known as both the *Preface to Important points on the Gateway to Liberation via the Sudden and Eternal Great Way of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising*) (頓久無生大法解脫門指要序) and as (*Zhikong's*) *True Teachings*. (reprinted in Heo, 1997, 324-329).

Samantaprabhāsa is expressed as "secret transmission of the Buddha mind-seal (*michuan xinyin* 密傳心印)" which asserts the direct mind transmission. I discuss this in more detail in chapter three.

While the *Chanyao lu* contains a summary of information about Zhikong's thought, the "travel record" or travelogue of Zhikong text, written in 1377 by Yi Saek about fourteen years after Zhikong's death, presents his thought through depictions of his travels and encounters. It is a summary of the main points in Zhikong's entire life, including the portion of his life after he returned to the Yuan from Goryeo in 1328 and up to his death in 1364. Yi seems to have collected information from various epitaphs, including the aforementioned texts of Minji. However, Minji's texts contain details on the main aspects concerning Zhikong only up to the eighth month of 1326. It includes information on his birth and lineage, his early education in Nālandā and Sri Lanka, his travels throughout the Indian subcontinent and into Yuan China, and his settling in Yandu (or Dadu, today's Beijing) and his initial meeting with emperor Taiding (泰定帝). I introduce and discuss Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong in more detail in the following section.

Zhikong's *Travel Record* (*Xinglu*)

The most important and comprehensive material on Zhikong's entire life was inscribed in 1377, about thirteen years after he died, by Yi Saek on a "Buddhist stupa stele inscription (*futu bei* 浮屠碑, *budobi* 부도비) and titled *Zhikong's Buddhist Stupa Stone Inscription*."[105] In this dissertation, I

[105] Yi Saek (이색, 李穡), *Zhikong's Buddhist Stupa Stone Inscription* (指空浮屠碑銘). 西天提納薄陁尊者浮屠銘井序. 牧隱文藁, 1377 년. (reprinted in Heo 1997, 352-358); and Yi Saek, *Selected Works by Mogeun* (*Mogeun Mungo* 목은문고, 牧隱文藁) 권 14, 西天提納薄陀尊者浮屠銘幷序 (서천제납박타존자부도명병서), 高麗名賢集 (고여명현집) 3, 成大大東文化硏究院 (성대대동문화연구원) (1973): 909-915. This epitaph by Yi Saek is also preserved in *Selected Works of Dong* (*Dong Wenxuan* 東文選), 권 119, Beiming 碑銘), but a number of characters have parts that are missing. However, Neunghwa Lee (이능화, 李能和) in 1917 and 1918 made use of a wider variety of copies of Yi Saek's travelogue text, with more comprehensive information in them, to supplement his reconstruction of Zhikong's life. These included the rubbings of original inscriptions that were made during the Sunjo (순조, 純祖, 1800-1834) period, but the rubbings have since been destroyed. See Neunghwa Lee 1917; and Neunghwa Lee 1918.

Waley in 1932 did not have access to these more comprehensive copies of Yi Saek's original text that Lee Neunghwa did when Waley did his translation. Waley only had access to a version of Yi's text copied by Takakusu Junjirō (高楠 順次郎), which, as editor, he put in his Taisho edition of the *Buddhist Canon*. However, many parts that were in the comprehensive copies that Lee Neunghwa had access to are not found in the Taisho edition of the *Buddhist Canon*. As well, there are many misprints in Yi's travelogue of Zhikong in the Taisho edition of the *Buddhist Canon*. Thus, Waley

refer to this text as Yi Saek's "travelogue (*xinglu* 行錄)," or travel record, of Zhikong. This text, as well as portions of it, has been transmitted in many forms, with some differences in content. As already mentioned, rubbings of the original and most comprehensive of Yi's travelogue of Zhikong were lost early in the 20th century. A less comprehensive copy of Yi's travelogue of Zhikong, a copy survives in the Taisho edition of the *Buddhist Canon*, edited by Takakusu Junjirō (高楠 順次郎).[106] Arthur Waley had access only to Takakusu Junjirō's limited copy of Yi's travelogue of Zhikong, and thus only used this one to write his 1932 translation and commentary of Yi's travelogue of Zhikong. Nonetheless, the essential storyline that takes up the first half of Yi's 1377 travelogue of Zhikong parallels that in copy of it in the Taisho edition of the *Buddhist Canon*. In all versions or copies of the travelogue, Yi briefly names and describes most of the locations that Zhikong passed through on his way to Yuan China, as well as key activities throughout his life there as well as his two year and seven month stay in Goryeo. Yi's text also contains a number of "geographical descriptions (*dizhi zi liao* 地誌資料)" of these places Zhikong passed through while traveling, including descriptions of Zhikong's encounters and interactions with proponents of Indian Buddhism and Hinduism that offer insight into and information about a variety of distinct faiths and customs.

The first two thirds of Yi's text, covering the period from his birth and up to the beginning of his trip to Koryo in 1326, is referred to as Zhikong's travel record, or travelogue. Yi seems to have also copied key parts of this pre-1326 portion his travelogue of Zhikong from the *Chanyao lu Preface* (*Chanyao lu xu* 禪要錄序, *Seonyo rok so* 선요록서) written by Minji in 1326. One specific fact is obvious. In the existing as well as lost copies of Yi's travelogue of Zhikong, the first-person referent term "I (*wu* 吾)" is used extensively in describing what happens what happens to Zhikong

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did not have access to the more comprehensive versions of Yi's travelogue that Lee did. So, when Yi's travelogue of Zhikong in the Taisho edition of the *Buddhist Canon* and Waley's translation of that version are compared with the information in the work of Lee and in the *Chanyao lu* preface by Minji, the former has less information as well as a number of mistakes. For more detail, see Heo 1997.

[106] Yi Saek. "Zhikong's stele inscription" (1368). In *The Tripitaka, New Compilation of the Taisho Era* (*Taisho shinshu Daizokyo*, 大正新修大藏經). (1924-34). Tokyo: Issaikyo kankokai, vols. 1-85. (T.2089.51, 9082a-0985c).

up to and in1326, thus in the first two thirds of the text. However, this first-person referent term is not used again in the final third of the travelogue text. This specifically refers to the time period after Zhikong returned to the Yuan capital after his two year and seven month trip through Goryeo and for the rest of his life in Yuan China, so from about 1328 to his death in 1364. This suggests that, in what appears to be all versions and copies of Yi's travelogue of Zhikong, the period of Zhikong's life up to his trip to Goryeo was initially either written down by Zhikong or by the writer who chose to present the travels and encounters of Zhikong in the first-person. This first-person term is not used at all in the *Chanyao lu Preface* written by Minji.

There are many factual and character errors in the existing copies of Yi's travelogue of Zhikong, especially in the final third of the text that discusses Zhikong's activities after he returned to Dadu from Goryeo in 1328 and up to the end of his life. Heo[107] suggests that a reason for this is because Yi was in ill health and in shock due to the murder of King Gongmin when he wrote the epitaph in 1377. What is more probable is that the information in this final third of the text was not gained from Zhikong directly but collected at a different time or times than that in the first two thirds, either by Yi himself or by someone else. Thus, this final third lacks the first-person referent.

Nonetheless, these problems and mistakes concerning the versions of Zhikong's travelogue text copies can be addressed, as there are many relics and records of Zhikong's trip throughout Goryeo and relating to him by his Goryeo disciples not only after he returned to Yandu but also after he passed away. In fact, Zhikong's prestige and influence among his many Goryeo expatriate supporters in Yandu grew after his return from his time in Goryeo, eclipsing even the stature he had achieved among them prior to his trip.

Arthur Waley[108] translated into English the travelogue of Zhikong[109] written by Yi Saek, and published it in 1932 along with his commentary. Waley used only the copy of Yi's travelogue found in the Taisho edition of the *Buddhist Canon*. Waley did not have access to other materials on

[107] Heo 1997, 15-16.
[108] Waley 1932, 355-376.
[109] T1089. 51. 9082a-0985c.

Zhikong or the places mentioned in the travelogue, so he added to the problems inherent in and limitations of this copy by making a number of errors in his interpretation. Nonetheless, in his commentary, Waley offered a perspective concerning the resilience of Buddhism in the Indian subcontinent at the end of the 13th century that contrasted with the prevailing perspective held by members of early 20th century academia. Waley pointed out that the information concerning Zhikong's early Buddhist education was significant in that it contradicted the prevailing perspective that Buddhism in northeast India had been all but wiped out early in the 13th century and was driven to obscurity throughout the subcontinent by the late 13th century. In addition, the prevailing view in the early 20th century was that the sacking of the Nālandā university-temple complex in the third decade of the 13th century had totally destroyed the complex. Waley's translation of and commentary on Yi's travelogue of Zhikong offered a conflicting perspective. Among other insights, Waley showed that after the destruction of the Nālandā complex some of its teaching monks continued to actively perpetuate the Nālandā-style structure and system of Buddhist education, at least to a certain extent. In addition, the stories of Zhikong's encounters show that forms of Buddhism did continue to exist in a variety of versions throughout the Indian subcontinent. Waley's translation of Yi's text became the sole introduction of Zhikong to the West, and for the few academics that were interested the information in that text was the only knowledge of Zhikong available in English until very recently. Nonetheless, a much more comprehensive understanding of Zhikong's life's work and thought is presented in this dissertation based on primary texts by, on and concerning Zhikong that corroborate and expand on the information about him recorded in Yi Saek's travelogue.

Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising (Wushengjie Jing) and It's Association with Other Texts Concerning Zhikong

The *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of the Highest Vehicle* (*Wenshu sheli wushengjie jing* 文殊舍利無生戒經),[110] which I abbreviate in this dissertation as the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* (*Wushengjie jing* 無生戒經, *Musaeng Gyegyeong* 무생계경), describes the basis of the *vinaya* precepts that Zhikong followed and taught. This text discusses Zhikong's application of the *vinaya* precepts, and the paradigm of practice, to both the laity and monastics. These precepts are based in the lifestyles found in India up to and including the time of Zhikong.[111] This text alludes to the doctrine of the "three bodies (*sanshen* 三身)" by distinctly elucidating the concept of the most fundamental of these three bodies, the "*Dharma* body (*fashen* 法身)."[112] The "*Dharma* body" indicates the transcendence of form and realization of *thusness*, and is represented by Vairocana (*Piluzhezhena* 毘盧遮那).[113] Vairocana also represents the embodiment of the *Dharma*, or Law, shining everywhere, and is the representative of the esoteric school. According to the Huayan School, the "*Dharma*-body" is the "principle (*li* 理)" or noumenon, while the other two bodies are

[110] It is also referred to as the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī* (文殊舍利無生戒經), and as the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising*. See *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of the Highest Vehicle – Vols. 1-3* (文殊舍利最上乘無生戒經 卷上, 中, 下), 1353 년 初刊, 1386 년 李穡跋 (First published in 1353, copied in 1386 by Yi Saek). (reprinted in Heo 1997, 331-348).

[111] Heo 1997, 96-97.

[112] In Madhyamaka (*zhongdao* 中道), the "*Dharma*-body" is the one true reality, so it is the fundamental basis of the three-body doctrine.

[113] In Mahayana teachings, there are the "three bodies" of the Buddha. The *Dharma*-body, also reality-body or truth-body, is the manifestation of all existences, the true body of reality. It has no marks of individual distinction. In Mahayana texts, it is identified with the one mind. Vairocana is the *Dharma*-body bodhisattva. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

Locana Buddha (Lushena fo 盧舍那佛) is the "Reward body of Buddha (*baoshen fo* 報身佛)" that indicates the pure or bliss body that enjoys the merits attained by a bodhisattva. Sakya[muni] (Shijiafo 釋迦佛) is the "Manifest body of Buddha (*huashen fo* 化身佛)" or the "current transformation body (*xianshen* 現身)" that indicates the present body through which to teach sentient beings. In the Esoteric school, Amitabha replaces Locana. Myungdae Mun (1977-78) and Kyuseong Hwang (2003) support the view that Vairocana as *Dharma*-body originated in Buddhism's interaction with the light of the Universe of Zorastorianism. See Kyuseong Hwang (황규성), "A Study on Paintings of Three Assemblies of Buddhas in the Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮時代 三身佛會圖에 관한 硏究)," 미술사학연구 (美術史學硏究) 237 (March 2003): 103-132.

"phenomenal aspects (*qi* 氣, or *shi* 事). During his decades in the Yuan, Zhikong demonstrated the characteristics of a Chan monk, albeit in the Goryeo Seon rather than Chinese Chan tradition, by interacting with Goryeo Seon monks, staying mainly at Goryeo Seon school-affiliated temples, and having the influential Seon monk Naong as his main successor. In chapters five and six, I discuss that "*Dharma*-body" thought was firmly established in the Seon Buddhist *sangha* by the middle of the Goryeo dynasty and how it relates to the acceptance of Zhikong's thought be influential members of the *sangha*.

> [From] India, [the] Master brought two volumes of [the] *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of the Highest Vehicle*. [The] *Preface* was written by the government official Chancellor Wei Dapo. [The Master] also left a hand-written copy of *The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*. [By] imperial decree, Ouyang wrote the epilogue. [The Master] left a great many verses. These were disseminated separately throughout the world.
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> 師自西天 攜文殊師利無生戒經二卷而來。參政危大朴序其端。手書圓覺經。歐陽承旨跋其尾。師之偈頌甚多。別有錄。皆行于世.[114]

This passage introduces two volumes of this text that Zhikong brought with him from India. Obviously both of them were written in Sanskrit and the existing versions of the text today are copies of translations from the original Sanskrit into Chinese. The Sanskrit version is lost today. The extant version of the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* was translated into and written down in Chinese, probably by disciples of Zhikong, and this version was first published in 1353. This text is divided into three volumes. The text offers insight into Zhikong's explication of his fundamental and representative concept concerning teaching and practice; "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." Passages from this text, specifically from the *Preface* and from *Volume Three*, in relation to this concept are translated into English and discussed in chapter five. The *Preface*[115] to this text was written by the government historian, Hanlin Imperial

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[114] T2089. 51. 0984c.

[115] Wei Taipu (危太朴), *Preface to the Text of the Precepts of (Neither) Arising (Nor Non-arising) of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of the Highest Vehicle* (文殊舍利最上乘無生戒序, 문수함리최상승무생계서) 癸巳 (계사) 危大樸續集 (위대박속집). (reprinted in Heo 1997, 331).

Academy (Hanlin Xueshi 翰林学士) scholar, and patron of Zhikong, Wi So (위소, Wei Su 危素, 1295-1375 C.E.) in 1344. He was also known as Wei Taipu (危太朴).[116]

The extant version of the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* is Yi Saek's own copy of the originally (1353) translated text that he copied in 1386. Yi's copy currently exists at the Museum at Tongdo Temple (통도사, Tongdu si 通度寺), near the southern tip of the Korean peninsula and in the Republic of Korea (South Korea).[117] The original text in Sanskrit, that Zhikong brought to the Yuan from India, is not extant. As for the numerous Buddhist "verses (*jisong* 偈頌)," which were probably recorded separately, they are included in his most important work, the *Record of Chan Essentials by Monk Zhikong* (*Chanyao lu*) along with Zhikong's genealogy. Representative examples of Zhikong's Buddhist "verses" are discussed throughout chapter two to chapter five.

The copy of *The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經)"[118] mentioned in this passage is a hand-written (in Chinese) scriptural copy attributed to Zhikong, with an epilogue written by Imperial Secretary Ouyang (歐陽 1274/5-1358 C.E.). As Zhikong probably did not write Chinese, this could not have been in his hand. However, he might have brought a Sanskrit version of the text with him from India which was then translated into this Chinese language version by one or more of his disciples. The structure of *The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* text is well-known. It has twelve chapters which are primarily a series of discussions on meditation practice. However, this is a three-volume compilation that was bound together in one text under the title of *The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*. The other two volumes are, as already mentioned, directly attributable to

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[116] Wi So held a number of official high-level posts in the late Yuan, and continued to serve in a lower capacity as an official early in the Ming dynasty. He is one of the compilers of the *Ming History*. Waley (1932) refers to the position held by Wei Taipu as Chancellor.

[117] Yi Saek's copy has been designated as a "treasured cultural asset # 738 (寶物文化 財, 보물 738 호)" by the ROK government . See Hyebong Cheon (천혜봉, 千惠鳳), 여적 (與籍)· 서예 (書藝), 예경산업사 (藝耕産業社), 1985a, 147.

[118] The full name of this Mahayana text, abbreviated as the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經)," is 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經. This Chinese-language copy version of this text attributed to Zhikong has an epilogue written by Secretary Ouyang. This text is similar in content to the 大方光圓覺修多羅了義經, which is written in gold Chinese characters and is kept today in the Holim Art Gallery (瑚林美術館) in the ROK. It is designated as National Treasure # 753. Heo (1997, 66) points out that Zhikong originally wrote it in Sanskrit, and that the possibility of this text, which is written in Chinese characters, being his is low. See also Hyebong Cheon (천혜봉), *National Treasures* 국보 (國寶) 12, 서예 (書藝)· 전적 (典籍), 예경산업사 (藝耕産業社), 1985b, 65.

Zhikong; *The Way of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* (*Wushengjie fa* 無生戒法) and the *Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of the Highest Vehicle*.[119] These are texts on ordination certification. The entire three-volume compilation is currently in Holim Museum 瑚林博物館 in the ROK.[120]

Zhikong's writings on Chan as well as the aforementioned text on geneology show that he was of a "separate transmission (*beichuan* 別傳)" than the orthodox view of the lineage of Chan up to Bodhidharma (Damo 達磨).[121] Nonetheless, Zhikong was constantly developing his meditation practice toward "realizing enlightenment (*jiaohua* 教化)" throughout his entire life. One of his most prevalent activity in his encounters with people was the rite of "giving the precepts" and especially giving the "*bodhisattva* ordination certificate (*pusa jiedie* 菩薩戒牒)," the certification of ordination as a monk, to those who wanted to become his disciples. Examples of Zhikong performing the rite of "giving the precepts" are provided and discussed in later chapters. Most notable of those who received this rite and the "*bodhisattva* ordination certification" include Naong and the Goryeo "female believer (*nǚ xintu* 女信徒)" named Miaode (妙德).

Another scriptural copy made by Zhikong is a combination of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liuzu tianjing* 六祖壇經) and the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising*. He copied them together under the title of 如來遺教弟子博授一乘戒法西天禪帥指空.[122] However, in this compilation, an epilogue by Ouyang is not included.

There are other scriptural copies by Zhikong.

Zhikong sat [performed meditation] during the summer at Longquan Temple [in Yunnan], where he copied the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit.

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[119] These two texts are *The Way of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* (*Wushengjie fa* 無生戒法, *Musaeng Gyebeop* 무생계법), 1357 년, 호림박물관소장 and *Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of the Highest Vehicle* (*Wenmo zuishang cheng* 文殊最上乘). These two texts together comprise the afore-mentioned *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī of the Highest Vehicle*.
[120] Hyebong Chun 1985b.
[121] See Philip Yampolski, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*. Columbia University Press; 6th edition, 1978.
[122] See Huigyeong Kwon 1986, 435-438.

坐夏龍泉寺。書梵字般若經.[123]

During his years in Yunnan at Longquan Temple (龍泉寺) near Kunming, Zhikong copied the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit (*Fanzi Banruo jing* 梵字般若經, *Beomja banyak gyeong* 범자반약경). Zhikong did not write Chinese, but did have assistance translating (and transliterating) key Sanskrit texts into Chinese. Among those, this *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit text of his was taken from Hwajang Temple (화장사, Huazang si 華藏寺), in today's DPRK, to the Japan's Royal Family Museum, in the 1920's, as well as secondary materials written in Chinese by his disciples. In his epitaph of Naong, Yi Saek states that at Fayuan Temple in Yandu (Dadu) Zhikong presented the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit, "other Sanskrit texts" (presumably the six types of scriptures), and a fly whisk to Naong as symbols both of Naong receiving confirmation of enlightenment under Zhikong's guidance and of Zhikong officially conferring lineage transmission on Naong. However, Heo Hungsik cites the research of Suyoung Hwang,[124] and holds that Zhikong may not have given Naong all of his texts written in Sanskrit. I discuss this issue in more detail in chapter six.

In addition, there have existed primary sources, yet to be found by modern scholars but with contents that could have enormous potential in adding to the current understanding of Zhikong, that are mentioned in existing primary sources. Heo[125] points out that one such key primary source, the *Hymns of Chan Master Zhikong* (*Zhikong Chanshi ji* 指空禪帥偈, *Jigong Seonsu gye* 지공선수게) that is mentioned in Zhiren's (至仁) *Tan jugao* (澹居稿),[126] could be as influential as the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit text.

[123] T2089. 51. 0984b.
[124] Suyoung Hwang (황수영, 黃壽永), *Research on Goryeo Classics* (고려사경 (高麗寫經)의연구(研究)). 고고미술 (考古美術), 1982, 180.
[125] Heo 1997, 11.
[126] Zhiren (至仁), *Tan jugao* (澹居稿, *Damgeo ko* 담거고), 권 1, 指空禪師偈序.

Conclusion

This chapter introduced the members of the Goryeo expatriate political, literati and Buddhist communities, and of the Yuan royal family, that were influential in supporting and promoting Zhikong and his thought. I delve more into their relationship with him in upcoming chapters. Despite the decades he spent in the Yuan, Koreans, and not Mongols or Han Chinese, have carried the responsibility for producing and saving the primary sources on him as well as perpetuating his legacy. I explore possible reasons for this intriguing fact throughout this dissertation. In chapter two, as there is no record of Zhikong's year of birth, I discuss the controversial theories concerning his lifespan and the challenges in determining it. I also introduce the historical development of the education system at the Nālandā university-temple complex where he studied, to situate his particular studies there. Finally, I give a quantitative analysis of the elements of Zhikong's thought, teaching and practice throughout his travels and life in the Yuan.

CHAPTER 2: ZHIKONG'S YOUTH & EDUCATION IN MAGADHA & NALANDA: WHAT DID HE STUDY?

In this chapter, I first introduce Zhikong's biographic background. Then, I discuss the challenges in establishing the year of his birth and his lifespan. As there are no known texts about him that were produced in India or Sri Lanka, there is no record of Zhikong's year of birth. The earliest text I have found on Zhikong was written in Chinese and in Yunnan in 1321, after his up to five years there, when he must have been at least in his mid-to late-twenties. Therefore, what is known about him prior to that was written down based primarily on his accounting of it to others. This is obviously problematic in terms of validity, and has contributed to theories concerning his lifespan, ranging from the absurd to the hagiographic to the realistic.

Next, I describe the historical development of the education system at the Nālandā university-temple complex in order to contextualize my discussion of Zhikong's studies there under Vinayabhadra. This sheds light on the particular representative concepts that make up his thought, which I introduce next. I give a quantitative analysis and geographical distribution of the elements of Zhikong's thought, teaching and practice. These introduce the places he passed through and the concepts he applied, each of which I deal with in more detail in my translations and discussions of primary source passages in chapter three to five, during his travels throughout the Indian subcontinent, including Sri Lanka, as well as the Yuan and Goryeo.

Finally, in the final two sections of this chapter, I begin an analysis of his thought, teaching and practice. Were these more representative of the Esoteric school, of the aforementioned three wandering Indian masters that had introduced that school to China, that Nālandā had become the center for long before Zhikong's time? Or, were these representative of the Chan or Seon schools in China and Korea, respectively? This is a fundamental question concerning Zhikong because the fact is that all extant primary sources on him were written and compiled in these countries in which the Chan or Seon schools predominated among the native populations; Han Chinese in the Yuan and

Koreans in Goryeo. I discuss the problems associated with the designation, by many who have studied Zhikong, that his representative thought is specifically Chan. The compilers' perspectives of and writings on Zhikong may have been biased toward interpreting his thought from the perspectives of the Chan/Seon school thought of the time.

Zhikong's Family Lineage and Formative Years

Zhikong was born in the northeast region of India[127] near the Ganges River. He was the third prince in line to be the king of the state of Magadha.[128] From the 10th century, Nālandā and India began to be threatened from the northwest by Islam. By the end of the 12th century, the growth of Hinduism and Islam had usurped Buddhism as the major religion in India. In the 13th century, the Yuan also encroached into the Indian subcontinent's northeast region. Magadha was one of the hundreds of semi-independent emirates that existed on the subcontinent after India's dissolution in the 11th century, and Magadha continued to maintain its tradition as the country that had unified Kapilavastu, where the Buddha had been born. Among the many small emirates, the fractured socio-political conditions contributed to the tendency for the revival of traditional beliefs. It was in this context that Zhikong was born.

Zhikong's childhood name was Louhengluoduopo (婁恒羅哆婆) and his name after becoming a monk was Chan Worthy (Chanxian 禪賢) Dhyānabhadra (Dinabaotuo 提納薄陀). The name Zhikong is the Chinese language expression of Sunyadisaya (Sunyadishaye 蘇那的沙野), meaning "indication of emptiness." Sunyadisaya is the name his teacher Samantaprabhāsa (Puming 普明) in Sri Lanka gave him when, at the age of nineteen, they first met. Zhikong had been sent there to

[127] India is referred to in many ways in the primary and secondary texts; Xitian 西天 in Yi Saek's epitaph, Houzhi 後誌, Yintu 印土, Tianzhu 天竺 or Xi Tianzhu guo 西天竺國, Zhong Tianzhu guo 中天竺國, and Zhongyin tu 中印土. Tibet was referred to as Tufan 吐蕃, but in Goryeo and China it was known as Xifan 西蕃, and this is interpreted as "aboriginals of the west".

[128] Magadha was situated in today's southern region of Ganges River, centered near Gaya and Patna of Bihar province.

study under Samantaprabhāsa by his initial teacher at Nālandā, Vinayabhadra (Lüxian 律賢).[129] Zhikong's worldly lineage goes back to King Jingfan (淨飯王), father of Buddha Sakyamuni (Shijiamouni 釋迦牟尼), according to the *Chanyao lu*.[130]

Concerning scholarship, Zhikong was precocious at an early age, being able to master texts. He demonstrated an early ability for asceticism, as he seemed to naturally avoid foods that might arouse his passions. Later, while on his way to Sri Lanka to meet his next teacher, he refused sexual advances by a woman in order to continue on his way. This demonstrates moral discipline. As I discuss in chapters three and four, his emphasis on teaching the importance of following precepts throughout his life and his application of a wide range of Buddhist concepts to teach and spread the *Dharma* show his lifelong commitment to scholarship and asceticism. I also show that Zhikong often used incantations and invocations to perform miracles in order to help others avoid the suffering of this world. However, there was a key point of difference from those who advocated esoteric practices for the gaining of "this-worldly benefits" for themselves. It was that Zhikong clearly avoided and even criticized the use of incantations, *mantras* and invocation to perform miracles merely for personal benefit or ends. Zhikong chanted scriptures, performed divine wonders, overcame malevolent spirits, and proselytized. In addition, he continuously reinvigorated himself by intense meditation practice.

Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong and the *Chanyao lu* also contain stories of Zhikong's experiences that are patterned after key elements of the stories in the biographies of the three foreign (non-Chinese) wandering Indian Buddhist masters that introduced the Esoteric tradition to China, as discussed by Chou Yi-liang.[131] Of key focus is Zhikong as a thaumaturge in the tradition of these past esoteric masters, especially when he appeared to produce rain during droughts, stop

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[129] Yi Saek. *Stone Tablet Stele Commemorating the Relics of Zhikong and Naong* (at Anxin Temple 安心寺) (指空懶翁舍利石鍾碑, 안심사지공나옹사리석종비). (1384). 韓國金石全文 (한국금석전문), 1224; Yi Saek. "Zhikong's stele inscription." (1368). (T.2089. 51, 9082a-0985c); and Waley 1932.

[130] For a listing of the 107 members of the lineage from Sakyamuni Buddha to Zhikong, see Minji, *Important Points on the Mind Passed Down by Buddhist Patriarchs of the Indian Sects* (1326).

[131] Chou 1945, 241-332.

rain to limit floods, and heal the sick. The elements that the representation of Zhikong shared with that of these foreign masters include having an auspicious birth, a royal pedigree, health problems in childhood that were overcome, and an early elite education, and, later in life and to a lesser extent, traveling widely to spread Buddhism among various local peoples in strange lands. I discuss examples of these in the second last section of this chapter.

The following passage is Yi Saek's depiction of Zhikong's early life. It presents Zhikong as having many of the aspects of the trope of an eminent monk during his youth, as represented in the early eminent monk biographies.

> [I] did not use meat and alcohol. At [the age of] five, I had a teacher [and] studied [my] country's books as well as those of outside places.... [My] father became sick, and the doctor could do nothing [for it]. A fortuneteller said, "[If your] principle wife's son becomes a monk, the king's illness will get better."... [So,] I immediately responded [that I would do so, and my] father was greatly pleased.... Mother considered [doing this] for some time [and] it was difficult as [I] was the youngest [, yet she] decided to sever her affection [for me] willingly. Father recovered from the illness.
>
> At the age of eight [Zhikong] "received the three robes" [and] entered the Nālandā temple to study under Instructor Lüxian. [Zhikong's head] was "shaved [and he] took the five precepts" [from Lüxian].

不茹酒暉。五齡就師。受國書 及外邦之學….. 父病醫莫效。筮者曰。嫡子出家。王病可痊….. 吾即應。父大喜….. 母以季故。初甚難之。割愛願舍。父病立愈八歲備三衣. 送那蘭陀寺 講師律賢所. 剃染五戒.[132]

Even as a very young child, Zhikong demonstrated the disciplined lifestyle of a monk. He avoided alcohol and foods that excited the senses, such as meat and garlic or spices. His avoidance of spicy foods and alcohol suggests that he grew up with the acceptance of the certain rules of abstinence. He was precocious, as he was mastering texts of his country and foreign regions by the age of five. This indicates that he had an early elite education.

His parents' decision to have him join a monastery at the age of eight for his continuing elite education involved illness, a fortuneteller and a miraculous recovery. In biographies of eminent monks, these are often-depicted aspects of the childhood of the wandering foreign monk trope.

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[132] T.2089. 51, 9083a.

When his father the king became ill, a fortuneteller told his mother that he would recover if one of her sons became a monk. Because Zhikong was her youngest, his mother initially found it difficult to cut her ties to him, but after some thought was willing to allow him to "leave home" to become a monk. By doing so, according to the fortuneteller's prophesy, his father immediately recovered from his illness. From Vinayabhadra, Zhikong had his "head shaven and received the five Buddhist precepts (*tiran wujie* 剃染五戒)," the symbolic acts to mark the beginning of his training as a monk.

The Challenges in Establishing Zhikong's Year of Birth and Lifespan

It is imperative to take a particular incident or situation recorded in a text and contextualize it within a variety of perspectives in order arrive at a comprehensive and valid understanding of that incident or situation as it pertains to Zhikong's life experience or thought. Take the pertinent examples of when Zhikong was born and his age at the time of his death. Establishing these can assist in situating Zhikong and the development of his thought within the religious contexts of the country of his birth and Sri Lanka, and the expression of his thought within the religious contexts of the areas most pertinent to this study; Yunnan, Goryeo, and the Yuan capital.

Heo[133] presents the five prevailing theories concerning Zhikong's age at the time of his death, but one is unrealistic, two more are absurd, and two are reasonable. In this section I test the validity of three of them to determine which has the most support in the primary sources. There is no record of when he was born, which accounts for the variety of theories, but there are records of his death in 1364. The unrealistic theory is that Zhikong was sixty years old when he was in Yunnan and was

[133] Heo 1997, 16-17. For further discussions of the theories concerning the year of Zhikong's birth, see Heo, 1997; and Jirosato Kunishita, "Gensho ni okeru teishitsu to zenso to no kankei ni oite," *Toyo gakuho* (東洋学報） 11 (1937): 547-577.

Concerning Zhikong's passing, many in academia do not accept as credible the story that when Zhikong was sixty years old the monk Yunnan Wu (雲南悟) was entering the temple at the age of seven, and that when Zhikong died in 1364 Yunnan Wu was seventy five, thus making Zhikong one hundred and twenty six at his death and with a birth year of 1235. For this account, see the travelogue of Zhikong, by Yi Saek; and *Selected Works by Mogeun*, 1973.

For the view that this account of Zhikong living to the age of one hundred and twenty six presents a beautification of Zhikong, in the tradition of monastic biographies on Chan monks, see *Dictionary of Famous Koreans* (한국인명대사전, 韓國人名大事典) (신구문화사 (新丘文化社), 1967), 1101. For the view that Zhikong lived to the age of seventy-five, and was born in 1289 and died in 1361, see "Komazawa daigaku nai zengaku daijiten hensansho (駒澤大学内禅学大辞典編纂所)," in *Zengaku Daijiten* (禪學大辭典).(Tokyo: Taishûkan shoten (大修館書店), 1977), 680.

one hundred and twenty six years old when he died. The two absurd theories, not worth discussing, are that Zhikong lived to the age of three-hundred and one hundred and eight. The two reasonable theories are that he lived to be seventy-five, and that the length of his life is yet unknown.

I attempt to establish when he was born as well as a timeline of when he was in the aforementioned specific areas during his travels. I investigate and apply the clear time markers, recorded in primary sources, up to the second time he arrived at the Yuan capital of Dadu, which was probably in 1323. After about a two to three year stay in the capital, he took his one and only trip through Goryeo, which lasted for two years and seven months. After that, he returned to Dadu in 1328 for the third and final time, and for the rest of his life he remained in or near there. The earliest primary source on Zhikong was compiled in 1321. There is less discrepancy concerning time markers after 1328 among the various texts that record his activities and when they occurred. Also, I leave the further analysis and discussion of the pertinent and specific aspects of his activities in these areas to chapters three and four. In chapters five and six, I apply this timeline in order to situate and contextualize Zhikong and his thought within the historical development of the religious milieu of these pertinent areas that he traveled through and lived in during his lifetime.

The purpose of establishing a specific timeline of Zhikong's life is to determine or identify the contexts which contributed to the development of his thought. It is also to establish the historical contexts concerning the development and then-current state of Buddhism in Yunnan, the Yuan capital and Goryeo prior to and during the time he was in these places. This allows me to determine how and why his more developed thought was relatively well-received in Yunnan and Goryeo both during the time he was in those areas and after he left them. As well, it is to determine why his mature thought was not widely accepted outside of the Goryeo expatriate community during the more than three decades of his life in the Yuan capital.

Based on primary source materials, there are a number of important implications that can be drawn from the determination, albeit imprecise, of Zhikong's age when he died, the year of his death, and most importantly, the year of his birth. In the extent texts that record his activities at

various locations, there are some clear markers of date and year, and these can be corroborated. Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong offers the greatest number of as well as the clearest time markers, but the text's disjointed organization of the events of Zhikong's life also presents challenges to the establishment of a definitive timeline, especially when, as I demonstrate, the dating of events in it is contradicted in other texts.

The first theory is that Zhikong was one hundred and twenty six years old when he died. The determination of this age, which is an exaggeration, is compounded to a minor extent by contradictory recordings of the year of his death. Heo cites Zhikong's travelogue on the "stele epitaph of Indian Dhyānabhadra (西天提納薄陁尊者碑銘)," recorded in the 1377 collection by Yi Saek, (*Mogeun Mungo* 牧隱文藁 本), that Zhikong died on November 20, 1361.[134] Heo also cites the views of early 20th century Korean Buddhist reformers and interpreters of Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong, the aforementioned Neunghwa Lee and Sangno Kwon, who wrote that Zhikong died on the 29th of November of that year, 1361. However, Zhikong's death as it is recorded in the version of Yi Saek's 1377 travelogue of Zhikong that is in the Taisho edition of the *Buddhist Canon* as occurring in 1364, along with the description of his passing and the preparation of his relics for dissemination.

> In the 23rd year of Zhizheng, a government official arrived…. [The] Master said, "For me, ask [the] emperor if I can go [die] after the day of my birth or before the day of my birth?" [The] Master also said, "Put my image at the altar of Tianshou Temple." This year, on the 29th day of the 11th month, at Guihua [abbot's] chamber, [the] Master died at the place he had built and had named….. In the fall of 35th year of Shundi, [Zhikong's] relics were divided into 4 parts.
>
> On the 16th day of the 9th month in the 2nd year of Emperor Zhaozong, the [Koryo] king ordered a stupa be set up at Guiyan Temple. In order to prepare the bones so that the relics obtained from them could be able to enter the pagoda, the bones were washed in order to obtain the relics from the ashes…. [The] Yunnan [monk] Wuwu appeared to be able to speak [on the *Dharma* well]. At the age of 7 years old [the] Master [Wuwu] "left home." At that time, [the] Master [Zhikong] had completed one "cycle" [of 60 years]. When Wu was 75, [the] Master [Zhikong] died.

至正二十三年 冬內侍至。師曰。為我奏爾主。我生日後去耶。生日前去那….師又曰。天壽寺吾影堂也。是歲十一月二十九日 示寂于貴化方丈。師所建/構 而師所名也….. 戊申秋 … 茶毘四分.

[134] Heo 1997, 16-17.

壬子九月十六日 以王命樹浮屠 於檜巖寺。將入塔 灌骨 得舍利若干粒… 雲南悟無 見能言。七歲投師出家 時已云師年甲子一周矣。悟七十五 而師乃寂.[135]

The above passage documents Zhikong's death as occurring at the Guiha abbot's chamber (Guiha *fangzhang* 貴化方丈) in the twenty-third year of emperor Zhizheng (至正, r. 1341-1368 C.E.), which is 1364, not 1361, on the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month. As is typically the case concerning the recording of the passing of eminent monks, Zhikong was able to realize that he was about to pass on. He indicated this by alerting the emperor of his coming death and in his request to have his image placed in Tianshou Temple (天壽寺) after his passing. It was not until 1368, the fall of the thirty-fifth year of Shundi (順帝, Toghan-Temür), that Zhikong's remains were divided into four portions and taken to various places to be enshrined. In 1372, the second year of Emperor Zhaozong (昭宗), Goryeo king Gongmin (공민왕, Gongmin wang 恭愍王) ordered that a "*stupa* (*futu* 浮屠)" to honor Zhikong be set up at Hoeam Temple in Goryeo.

This passage records that the monk Wuwu (悟無) from Yunnan was seven years old when Zhikong, who had already completed one "sexagenary cycle (*jiazi* 甲子)" of sixty years, ordained him, and was seventy-five when Zhikong died. The implication is that the ordination, the monk Wuwu's "leaving home," occurred in Yunnan when Zhikong had been living there, for up to five years, and thus had occurred prior to Zhikong's arrival at the Yuan capital. If this were the case, it would make Zhikong one hundred and twenty six years old at the time of his death, and so this would establish the year of his birth as either 1234 or 1237.

However, there are inconsistencies with this theory. Implications of this passage are that that Zhikong met the seven-year-old Wuwu when Zhikong was living in Yunnan, that he was about fifty-nine years old when they met, and that this meeting occurred either in 1293 or 1296. In chapter four I discuss in more detail Zhikong's approximately five year stay in Yunnan in more detail. However, as I show later in this section, primary sources clearly record that his time in

[135] T.2089. 51, 9082c.

Yunnan was between 1315 and 1321. Therefore, according to the calculations only from portion of the text translated above, and assuming that Zhikong could have met the young Wuwu anytime between the beginning or near the end of his five-year period in Yunnan, that five-year period was sometime between 1288 and 1301. This cannot be correct.

To further invalidate the theory of Zhikong being one hundred and twenty six when he died, I applied and examined more textual documentations of year and date markers.

At the age of eight, [Zhikong] received the "three garments"…… When [I] was nineteen, [I] went out alone to travel…….

[I] spent the summer retreat at Molizhi Mountain and then [I] went to Sri Lanka…..

[I] paid respect to [my] master at Dingyin Monastery [and then] withdrew to sit and meditate in a cave for six months.

八歲備三衣。送那蘭陀寺..... 時年十九。奮發獨行…..[136]
結夏摩利支山。乃至楞迦國焉…..[137]
禮吾師于頂音菴。退坐石洞六閱月.[138]

These short passages refer to Zhikong's youth. After some preparatory studies at home, he entered the Nālandā temple-university education system at the age of eight, receiving the "three garments (*sanyi* 三衣)" of ordination into monkhood, in order to study the various texts in its curriculum. This would be in 1242 or 1245. At the age of nineteen, he left his home country, never to return, to study in Sri Lanka. This would be in 1253 or 1256. During his travels, he spent the summer retreat season in the southeastern part of the Indian subcontinent, on Mt. Mārīcī (Molizhishan 摩利支山) in Kalinga, or Kalingavastu (Jialingjia guo 迦陵伽國), while on his way to Sri Lanka. After the length of time it took for him to arrive in Sri Lanka, he met his next teacher at Dingyin Monastery (Dingyin an 頂音菴), and then spent six months meditating in a cave. A conservative estimation would put the year of his completion of these activities as sometime in 1254 or 1257.

[136] T.2089. 51, 9083a.
[137] T.2089. 51, 9083b.
[138] T.2089. 51, 9083a.

In [the state of] Shu, [Zhikong] sat in Chan meditation for three years in front of a large statue of Samathabhadra.[139]

至蜀。禮普賢巨像。坐禪三年.[140]

This excerpt concerns Zhikong's activity in the state of Shu, which was situated in part of today's Sichuan province. I discuss this activity in more detail in chapter four. Prior to arriving in Shu, Zhikong traveled on a route that took him along the border of the entire Indian subcontinent, near and possibly through part of Tibet, to Yanjing (Dadu) for a brief stay, and then back to near Tibet. There is no record of an extended stay in any of these areas prior to his arrival in Shu, so the length of time it took to get to Shu is unclear. However, even taking this into account, his journey from Sri Lanka to Shu must have taken a minimum of several months. He stayed in Shu for three years practicing Chan meditation in front of a statue of Samathabhadra (Puxian 普賢), probably near today's Chengdu. According to the current theory being tested, it is reasonable to approximate the year he left Shu as either 1258 or 1261.

After leaving Shu, Zhikong entered Yunnan. It is here that the information in Yi Saek's travelogue does not support the timeline to validate this theory that Zhikong lived to be one hundred and twenty six. In the travelogue, more activities are described, and in more detail, than in any other areas other than the description of his activities in the Yuan capital, where he spent the last thirty-five or more years of his life. This suggests that he spent a long period of time in Yunnan. However, while the travelogue contains no clear and specific year or date markers for his time spent in Yunnan, it does contain some passages that suggest that he had indeed spent a long time there.

[A] monk [in] Anning province asked [me about] the former [master] Amoghavajra entering [the] Tang [and] bowing to the ground to "know [its] sound." At the time I could speak the language of Yunnan, [so I] responded saying: "The past and the present are not the same [just as] a holy man and an ordinary person [follow] different routes [in life]"….. On the Zhongqing circuit, [those in]

[139] A more detailed discussion on exactly where Zhikong spent his three years in Shu is in chapter four. Samantabhadra *bodhisattva* represents practice and meditation, as well as teaching, and is most commonly associated with the Huayan school. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[140] T.2089. 51, 9084a.

many mountains [temples] asked me to discourse on the Law. [I] held five assemblies. The prince honored me and made me his teacher.

安寧州僧問。昔三藏入唐伏地知音. 時吾會雲南語. 應曰。古今不同 聖凡異路.....
中慶路諸山請演法。凡五會。太子禮吾為師.[141]

These excerpts indicate that he lived in Yunnan for some time. Anning prefecture is located in the western part of Yunnan, to the southwest of Kunming. The time he spent in Yunnan was enough to be able to not only learn the local language[142] but to also gain the fame and credibility through his teachings, to conduct five assemblies, and to eventually become respected enough by the communities to be asked by a prince to be his teacher. That the segment implies that he could speak one of the local languages there is intriguing in a couple of ways. It implies that he spent a long time in Yunnan, long enough to learn a local language. However, I suggest that he may not have learned the "language of Yunnan" during his time in Yunnan at all. He may have learned it long before, and offer indirect support for the possibility that he had learned the "language of Yunnan" in his youth and in his home country. I base this possibility on the fact that, prior to Zhikong's visit there, royalty from Magadha had for centuries been engaged in governmental and economic exchanges with, including trips to, Yunnan. I discuss this in more detail in chapter three.

Why would he have learned the "language of Yunnan" in the relatively short period of time he was there and not have ever learned Chinese very well during the much longer period of time he spent in the Yuan and especially in the capital? Not only do no primary texts record that he could speak Chinese to any great extent, I show in chapter three and four that it is pointed out a number of times in primary sources that he could not write Chinese to any extent. In addition, no current research on Zhikong addresses the level of his speaking ability concerning the Chinese language, despite the fact that he lived in the Yuan capital for up to thirty five or more years.

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[141] T.2089. 51, 9084b.

[142] Many minority peoples with little or no linguistic affinities concerning their native languages had been living in the Yunnan region for generations prior to Zhikong's stay. The language that Zhikong spoke was most likely the most prominent one in the area.

Nonetheless, textual support for the view that he may have spent up to five years living in Yunnan is recorded in a rubbings of a "stone record (*beiji* 碑記)" memorial stele of the construction of Zhengxu Temple in Wuding county, northwest of Kunming, and in the rubbings of two stone records that commemorate later renovations and additions to the temple complex.[143] The first stone record was written by Bideng Chao (晁必登) in 1321, and it commemorates the completion of the construction of the temple. This is the earliest primary source material I have on Zhikong. Chao records that a monk from Sichuan named Chaozong (朝宗) began the construction of the temple but Zhikong completed it. Here is my translation of the pertinent portion of the stone record. A more detailed discussion of an extended portion of this stone record and my translation are in chapter four.

In 1311, the Shu Buddhist monk, Revered senior Chaozong, arrived at this place…… [He] established a Buddhist temple….. After [Chaozong returned to] western Shu, there came from the west an Indian Chan Master Zhikong [who] settled here…. The temple hall and Buddha statue were started in the spring of 1315. The monk lecture hall and storehouse were completed in the summer of 1320…… Chaozong started the temple in the beginning, and Zhikong completed it at the end.

至大辛亥 蜀憎長老朝宗 飛錫至止…刱一梵字…西蜀之後 有西竺指空禪師 遊方憩此…佛殿旃檀 經始於乙卯之春 僧堂香積 落成於庶庚申之夏…今朝宗開之 於前 指空成之於後.[144]

This passage records the construction of the temple as beginning sometime between 1311 and 1315, with Chaozong initiating it. At some point in or after 1315, Chaozong went back to Shu (Shichuan), and then Zhikong arrived and eventually completed the temple construction. Chao writes that the project was completed in 1320, and the date on this commemorative text is 1321. Therefore, it appears that Zhikong arrived at Zhengxu Temple sometime in or after 1315, and lived there to at least 1320, possibly 1321.

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[143] These stone records were transcribed into modern Chinese and included as part of a journal commemorating the 1995 conference on Zhikong organized by Yang Xuezheng and held in Yunnan. See Xuezheng Yang (楊學政), "(Chinese) Academy of Social Sciences - Religion Research Institute of Yunnan (Yunnan sheng shekexueyuan zongjiao yanjiusuo, 雲南省 社科院 宗教 研究所)," *Research Journal of Yunnan Religion (Yunnan zongjiao yanjiu,* 云南宗教研究), ed. Xuezheng Yang, 1 (1995): 21-24. The texts of the stone records are: Bideng Chao (晁必登), "Chongxiu zhengxusi shanmen beiji (重修正續寺山門碑記)" (1321 C.E.); Unknown author, "Chongxiu zhengxusi beiji (重修正 續寺碑記)" (1478 C.E.); and Xingxian Yang (楊興賢). "Shishan jian zhengxusi beiji (獅山建正續寺碑記)" (ca. 1510 C.E.).
[144] Ibid., p. 22.

A second stone record commemorating renovations to Zhengxu Temple was written by an unknown author in 1478.

> The Shu monk Chaozong…. first constructed pavilions [like] the Guanyin [and] Manjusri [pavilions]. [Though the temple] was not yet completed, the Master returned to the east. His successor was one who [we] lack records [of, but who] was able to get the Indian monk Zhikong to resume [the temple construction]. He expanded its area and completed [the temple] by increasing it to double the size it had been before.[145]

This passage offers corroborating support that Zhikong arrived after Chaozong left, and that there was an individual that took over the control of the temple construction project from Chaozong and it was this person who persuaded Zhikong to manage the temple construction. Zhikong agreed, and thus was the one who not only completed the construction but it appears that he expanded on the original plans and size.

A third stone record written by Xingxian Yang (楊興賢)[146] in approximately 1510 records the initiation of the construction of the temple as beginning during the reign of emperor Zhida (至大, r. 1301-1312 C.E.). So, Chaozong must have initiated the temple construction process in 1311 or 1312, shortly after he arrived in Wuding.

To summarize, these primary sources record that Zhikong arrived in Yunnan sometime between 1311 and 1315, more likely in or near 1315, and stayed there until 1320 or 1321. According to the theory that he lived for a hundred and twenty six years, he would have been anywhere between seventy-four to eighty-one when he arrived in Yunnan and eighty-three and ninety-four when he left. In addition, if monk Wuwu had in fact met Zhikong in Yunnan during the period range that he was there, then Zhikong would have to have been much older than the "one cycle" of sixty years recorded in the travelogue. Therefore, the theory of Zhikong living to the age of one-hundred and twenty six is absurd, and has not been widely accepted among academics.[147]

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[145] Ibid., p. 23.
[146] Ibid., p. 24.
[147] *Dictionary of Famous Koreans* 1967, 1101.

The two absurd theories include the myth that Zhikong lived to the age of three-hundred[148] and the view that he lived to be one hundred and eight. Neither is accepted by academics or worth the effort of establishing a timeline for. The fourth and fifth theories, deemed most realistic by academics, are that he lived to be seventy-five[149] and that the length of his life is still not known. Following is a discussion of these two theories.

As for the timeline for the theory that Zhikong was seventy-five when he died, it means that he would have been born in or between 1286 and 1289. He would have taken the vows to enter Nālandā at the age of eight in about 1295 or 1298, and would have left his home country at the age of nineteen in about 1305 or 1308. After traveling to Sri Lanka, being taught by Samantaprabhāsa there and spending the six months of meditation in a cave, he might have left Sri Lanka in about 1306 or 1309. Then, after traveling throughout the Indian, through Tibet, to Yanjing and back to the eastern part of Tibet, and then south to Shu where he might have spent three years practicing meditation, he would have arrived in Yunnan sometime between 1310 and 1313 and that he would have been somewhere between the ages of twenty-four and twenty-seven. These calculations are not unrealistically inconsistent with the information in the stone records of Yunnan, which have Zhikong arriving in Yunnan sometime between 1311 and 1315. Continuing on, if he indeed did leave Yunnan sometime between 1320 or 1321, he would have been between thirty-four and thirty-seven years old. The fact that he arrived in the Yuan capital in 1322 or 1323, and in 1326 began his trip through Goryeo for a two year and seven month journey is widely corroborated in primary records. He would have been between his late thirties and early forties.

As is made clear in chapter four, Zhikong was at the height of his career during and in the years following his arrival in the Yuan capital and while on the journey through Goryeo. He was at an age or point in his vocation to be able to parlay his wide education and life experiences, along with his development in meditative practices, teaching credentials and acquired wisdom. He had gained

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[148] Song Lian (宋濂). *Jizhao Yuanming da chanshi bifeng jingong shelita bei* (寂照圓明大禪師壁峰金公舍利塔碑). 宋文憲公全集, 卷 11.
[149] *Great Dictionary of Chan Study* (*Zengaku Daijiten* 禪學大辭典). (日本: 大修館書店, 1978), 680.

in reputation and respect to be able to have many followers and disciples within the very volatile religious and political milieu in the Yuan capital during the waning decades of the dynasty. I discuss these in more detail in chapters four and five. However, the fact is that he did gain an enduring following and influential disciples, but it was mainly among the Goryeo expatriate community in the Yuan and, his enduring legacy was perpetuated moreso in the Korean Joseon than in the Chinese Ming after his death. In the following section, I discuss the historical development of the education system at Nālandā, which situates the content of Zhikong's studies there.

Historical Development of the Nālandā University-Temple Complex and its Education System

Zhikong formed his teaching and learning views while studying under Vinayabhadra at Nālandā. After completing his ordination at the age of eight, he was put in the care of Vinayabhadra who taught him based on the curriculum of the Nālandā university-temple complex system. When he left home to be educated at Nālandā, Zhikong undoubtedly received the "ten Buddhist precepts (*shijie* 十戒)." The implication is that his upbringing in Magadha included the basics in Buddhist moral education. Lay Buddhists as well as monastics lived in Magadha and aspects of classical Buddhism continued to be practiced at the highest level of royalty at the time of Zhikong, despite the fact that the Muslim invasion of northern India had begun almost a century before his birth. In order to understand what Zhikong studied at Nālandā, it is valuable to first situate his education within the historical context of the Nālandā education system.

Nālandā Mahāvihāra, or the university-temple complex of Nālandā, was located in the northern area of the "city where kings live (*wangshe cheng* 王舍城)," the capital of the small state of Magadha, today's Bihar. Some of the most famous centers of Buddhism were in ancient Magadha.[150] It was founded in 427 C.E. and trained students in Buddhism as well as fine arts, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, politics and the art of warfare. The university complex grew to

[150] Lal Mani Joshi, *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India* (Jawahar Nagar, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), 30, 134-137.

consist of eight separate compounds, ten temples, several meditation halls and classrooms, a nine-story library, and student dormitories. There were three famous libraries called Ratna Sāgara, Ratna Nidhi, and Ratna Ranjana, and in each of these multi-storied library buildings the monks meticulously copied books and Buddhist manuscripts.[151] Yi Jing (義淨, 635-713 C.E.) described in his *Record of the Buddhist Religion Sent Home from the Southern Sea*[152] that the Nālandā university complex offered courses in specialized studies in almost all branches of learning then known in India. These included the doctrines and literature of the Great Vehicle and the eighteen sects of the Lesser Vehicle of Buddhism, the Vedas, the Samkhya, and miscellaneous works on grammar.[153] According to Diwakar, Subramania and Khokar, and Sastri,[154] the curriculum included the works of the eighteen Buddhist sects (of Theravada) as well as the four Vedas (Knowledge), the Puranas (Ancient works), Hetuvidya (Logic), Sabadavidya (Grammar), the Citisavidya (Medicine), the Atharvavidya (Works of Magic), the Sankhya (on the existence of the Supreme Self), and other miscellaneous Buddhist and non-Buddhist works. At its height, Nālandā had nearly 10,000 students and 2,000 instructors, and attracted students and scholars from Korea, Japan, China, Tibet, Indonesia, Persia, and Turkey.

The period of the development and fruition of monastic universities in India was from the 7th to 8th centuries. Dutt holds that this was due to the liberal cultural tradition of the Gupta period (280/320-550 C.E.).[155] The education in these universities was fourfold; spiritual, moral, literary, and technical.[156] Buddhist education for monks, however, had three aims; moral, spiritual, and

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[151] Gupta 2006, 588.
[152] See "*Record of the Buddhist Religion sent Home from the Southern Sea"* (*Nanhai Jigui Neifa Zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳), xix-xxiii, in Joshi 1983, 128.
[153] For a more detailed description of contents of primary and secondary education for monks at Nālandā and similar university complexes, see I-Tsing. Junjiro Takakusu, trans. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695)* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1896), 121-133.
[154] J. Takakusu, trans. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion: As Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695)/I-Tsing* (London: Clarendon Press, 1896. (reprint. New Delhi, AES, 2005)), 154-155; Ranganath R. Diwakar ed., (*Bihar Through the Ages*. Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1959), 292; V.K. Subramanian and M.A. Khokar, *Art Shrines in Ancient India* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 2003); and Hirananda Sastri, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (Delhi: Government of India Press, 1942), No. 66, 7ff.
[155] Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India: Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture*, (Great Britain, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1962), 328.
[156] Ibid., 124-128.

intellectual. The relationship between the teachers and the students was governed by the rigorous ethical and moral course of training of the *vinaya*. Spiritual growth involved a regulated process of contemplation, self-exertion, and self-introspection leading to intuition. Intellectual growth involved scholasticism and respect for the need to preserve, defend and perpetuate the Buddhist traditions and doctrines. This included writing commentaries as well as holding philosophical conferences and doctrinal debates among sectarians of the same system or among rivals of various sects and religious systems. This was the basis of Zhikong's education. More importantly, Zhikong did all of these during his life through his encounters with peoples, rulers, religious leaders, and his disciples. Representative examples of each of these aspects of his education and expression of them in his interaction with various peoples throughout his life are presented in later chapters.

However, by the 7th century C.E., the primacy of Buddhism as the main religion in India was beginning to lose ground to Hinduism, and where Buddhism continued to exist it was being changed by its interaction and competition with Hindu sects. Internal factors for the decline of and changes in Buddhism included sectarian disputes, as well as charges of the moral degradation of the *sangha* and "corruption of the Mahayana ideals." This means that within Buddhism there was excessive accumulation of elements of folk beliefs and esotericism that was leading to departures from classical Buddhism in terms of both practice and doctrine.[157] External factors generating changes to Buddhism in India included Brahmanical hostility to Buddhism and its growing influence, the revival of Brahmanism in and around Magadha, and declining royal patronage and royal persecution of Buddhism.[158]

From the 7th century onward Mahayana Buddhism, infused with Tantrism, was the main version of Buddhism in its decline in India.[159] Many of Zhikong's interactions with peoples throughout the

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[157] See Jogendranath N. Sammaddar, *The Glories of Magahda. The Edicts of Asoka and the Buddhist Universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila* (Pratna, London, 1924); and Thomas Watters, trans., *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*. 2 vols. (Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1961). These authors had a somewhat negative view concerning the expansion and influence of Mahayana concepts, as well as indigenous and imported folk beliefs and customs on "classical Buddhism."
[158] Joshi 1983, 304-322.
[159] Kanai Lal Hazra, *History of Theravada Buddhism in South-East Asia - with special reference to India and Ceylon* (New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1982), 49.

Indian subcontinent descriptions, in this chapter and in chapter three, show that esotericism was evident in Zhikong's teachings. He often used incantations to perform miracles, but the resources mentioned above indicate that his practice and teaching were based on his education at Nālandā and in following the rules of the *vinaya* and strengthening his resolve through meditative practice.[160]

According to Dutt,[161] with the rising influence of Brahmanism, the major Buddhist university complexes in India had to liberalize their curriculum of study to make their teachers and students more effective in debates and disputations in the expanding context of various ideas and religions. Gradual modification of the university complexes coincided with the decline of Buddhism. The scope of education expanded from an emphasis on "study for faith" to "study for knowledge," and the curriculum was liberalized as entry to the monastic universities opened to all seekers of knowledge in addition to monks. These factors also contributed to the decline of interest in and patronage of the study of mathematics, astronomy, alchemy, and anatomy. At the same time, the gradual modification indicates that Buddhism failed to become a social movement that could perpetuate its influence among the masses. Few entries in the primary sources demonstrate that Zhikong exhibited any strong background in these secular subjects.

Due to the continued influence of these factors, Buddhism in Magadha was in decline even before the presence of Muslims, according to Scott, Ling and other historians.[162] From the 9th to 11th centuries, *yoga* and magic came to be paramount in Buddhism.[163] Nonetheless, Buddhism owed much of its continuing existence in Magadha into the 12th century to the Nālandā university complex. However, the period from the 9th to the 13th century was the declining phase of Buddhism in India, shown by the waning of the influence of the Nālandā complex and its Buddhist education system.[164]

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[160] Gupta (2006, 590) posits that there is no significant fact that demonstrates that Zhikong was associated with Tantric Buddhism.
[161] Dutt 1962, 319-327.
[162] David Scott, "Buddhism and Islam: Past to Present Encounters and Interfaith Lessons."*Numen* 42, no 2 (1995).
[163] Maurice Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature: Volume II* (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1972), 399.
[164] Dutt 1962, 344.

Despite the decline of classic Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism (*Jingang cheng* 金剛乘) or the *Vajra* vehicle (Vajrayana), was continuing to grow in popularity among both the students and the teachers of the Buddhist university complexes in India after the 9th century. Tibetan accounts contain various references to Nālandā as a centre of Tantric studies, and magic spells and practices became more pronounced in its curriculum as well as in east India during the Pala period (750–1174 C.E.) and beyond.[165] Gupta and others[166] also support the view that the region that included Rādhāpuram and Dantapuram, today's Bengal and Orrisa in the mid and upper eastern coastal region of the Indian subcontinent, was known for Tantric Buddhism. That region was the center of Vajrayana Buddhism. As well, the Pala kings were Buddhists and patrons of Buddhism. One of the earliest works on Vajrayana is the *Guhyasamaja Tantra*[167] (*Treatise on the Sum Total of Mysteries*, or *Assembly of Secrets*), and another key work is the *Manjusri-mulakapla*.[168] Vajrayana emerged from some of the doctrines of Mahayana philosophy. Exponents were called *siddhas* (saints) or *Tantra-gurus*, which corresponded to Mahayana's "teachers (*asheli* 阿舍黎, or *ācārya*)."[169] To them in this context, the practice of spells and magical rites made them able to produce supernatural effects. Vajrayana expanded on the Mahayana pantheon.

Evidence of the influence of Tantric Buddhism in the learning and culture of Nālandā includes the great number of images of many tantric deities recovered from the Nālandā site.[170] In fact, all of the tantric images discovered at the Nālandā site are from the Pala period. During this period of the predominance of tantrism, Nālandā changed from its position as the center of liberal learning and

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[165] Joshi 1983, 300; and Dutt 1962, 344-347.
[166] Shanker Thapa, "Transmission of Indian Buddhist Thought in East Asian Historiography: Dhyānabhadra (Chi-Gong) and Buddhism in 14th Century Korea" (paper presented at the Sixth World Korean Studies Congress, Seoul, Korea, October 27-29, 2006); Gupta 2006; Heo 1997; and Waley 1932.
[167] The *Guhyasamaja Tantra* was written around 350 C.E.
[168] The *Manjusri-mulakapla* was probably written in the 8th century C.E. For more, see Alex Wayman, *The Yoga of the Guhyasamaja Tantra: The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977); Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, ed., *Guhyasamaja-Tantra* (Baroda, 1931); and Nalinaksha Dutt, "Schools and Sects of Buddhism," *Cultural Heritage of India* Vol. I, Ramakrishna Missions Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 2nd ed. (1958): 487.
[169] An *ācārya* was commonly understood as "one who teaches by example," or an eminent monk who guides his students in conduct as a model.
[170] Dutt 1962, 345-346; and A. Gosh, *A Guide to Nalanda* (Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1939), 21.

scholarship to become more a center of studies in Tantric doctrines and magical rites. Upasak[171] writes that Nālandā had long been in the "Mahayana phase" by the end of the Pali period, a phase which included the study and teaching of esoteric cults such as Vajrayana and Tantryana. By the end of the 12th century, incantations, spells, magical rites, and the worship of many gods and goddesses who could give worshippers magical powers contributed to a revised curriculum that was far removed from the initial Theravada teachings. Monastic learning under the *ācāryas* and scholars in Nālandā had become disassociated from the surrounding culture and the lives of the people.

According to Scott, in 1193 Nālandā was sacked by Muslim invaders under Mohammed Bin Bakhtiyar Khilji, army chief of Kutubuddin Ibak. As a result, both the Nālandā and Valabhi university complexes were destroyed.[172] A few decades later, when Nālandā was once again trying to re-establish itself, some Brahmins torched the libraries and destroyed the remaining main buildings. When the Tibetan translator Chag Lotsawa Dharmasvamin (Chag Lo-tsa-ba, 1197 – 1264 C.E.), travelled through the area in 1235, he found Nālandā damaged and looted, but still functioning with a small number of monks.[173]

However, Alexander Bezrin offers a picture of the extent of the destruction of the great monastic-university complexes in northern India that is contrary to that of Scott and others which persisted until late in the 20th century. Bezrin holds that most of these great Buddhist monastic universities in Bihar of northern India were built during the Pala dynasty, and that they were destroyed independently. Guzz Turks from what is today's Afghanistan conquered the region of Ghur in eastern Iran, which gave its name to his Ghurid Empire (1148 – 1215 C.E.). As the Ghurids moved into northern India at the end of the 12th century, it was mainly to gain territory. It was not a holy war. The Ghruids were able to conquer northern India mainly due to the infighting and rivalry of the local Hindu groups. In Kashmir, the kingdom continued to decline with a succession of

[171] C.S. Upasak, *Nalanda: Past and Present* (Bihar, India: Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, 1977), 23-24.
[172] Scott 1995.
[173] George Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvami* (Patna, KP Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959), 90 ff.

Hindu rulers as well (1171 – 1320 C.E.). However, even though the monasteries suffered economically, Buddhist activity flourished until at least the fourteenth century. Thus, the Ghurids did not destroy every Buddhist institution and monastic-university complex in northern India, nor did they intend to.

While Dharmasvamin did find Nālandā in Magadha damaged, looted and mostly deserted in 1235, it was still functioning. Dharmasvamin also found that the Sri Lankan Mahābodhi Monastery at Vajrasana (today's Bodh Gaya, in northern India) still had three hundred monks, and Jagaddala in northern West Bengal was flourishing. Berzin posits that to destroy these university-temple complexes completely would have required separate expeditions by the Ghurids, but they only damaged those in their direct line of advance and which were fortified like forts. Nonetheless, during that time many monks did flee Bihar to Burma and northern Thailand. Most went with lay Buddhist followers to Nepal.

Therefore, in India during the 13th century, Buddhism was primarily a religion of devotion for lay Buddhists, and was concentrated around the large monastic-university complexes. Householders supported the complexes and in return visited the complexes twice a month for sermons on ethical discipline and scriptures, and exercises on keeping vows.[174] By that time, Buddhism in northern India, Kashmir, and Nepal had already become infused with elements of devotional Hinduism. After the sacking of the monastic-university complexes in the early to mid-13th century, lay Buddhists were easily absorbed into Hindu sects.

After the initial sackings, a portion of the temples and monasteries at Nālandā were rebuilt by a monk named Muditabhadra, and a temple was built by Kukkutasiddha, the minister of the king of Maghada.[175] He seems to have been an ancestor of Zhikong. These rebuilt structures may have been

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[174] Alexander Bezrin, "Buddhism and Its Impact on Asia," *Asian Monographs* 8 (June 1996), Cairo: Cairo University, Center for Asian Studies; and Alexander Bezrin, *The Historical Interaction Between the Buddhist and Islamic Cultures Before the Mongol Empire*, 2006. Online unpublished manuscript. http://www.berzinarchives.com/web/x/nav/group.html_2124837990.html Accessed May 25, 2010.

[175] Satish Chandra Vidyabhusana, *A History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic* (Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1977), 149; Binayendra Nath Chaudhury, *Buddhist Centers in Ancient India* (Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1969), 28.

those that Zhikong studied in decades later, in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. Buddhism survived for several more centuries at Nālandā and Buddhagaya through the patronage of Pala rulers, many of whom were devotees and benefactors.[176]

The Contents of Zhikong's Education at Nālandā

Zhikong studied the *Maha-Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* at Nālandā, and it is evident that he regarded the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* as the basis of his learning and teaching. Evidence of this is that Zhikong copied the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit while at Longquan Temple (龍泉寺) in Yunnan, and then later presented this copy of the text to Naong as a symbol of his receiving transmission from Zhikong. Also, Kang[177] writes that Zikong taught the contents of this text at Borim Temple (보림사, Baolin si 寶林寺) in Youngsan county (영산현, Lingshan sheng 靈山縣)[178] in the southern tip of the Korean peninsula. As a key theme in his writing on the "truth of the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts"[179] Zhikong asserted that the relativity of "essential nature and characteristics, being and non-being (*xingxiang youwu* 性相有無)" is overcome by "emptiness thought (*kong sixiang* 空思想)." The ideological origins of assertion are found in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, and this thought corresponds to that of the "southern school of Chan."

Under Vinayabhadra at Nālandā, Zhikong received "tonsure (*tiran* 剃染)" and the "five precepts (*wujie* 五戒)"[180] to officially become a monk disciple-in-training. There, Zhikong studied the "*Buddhist Canon* (*Sanzang* 三藏)" and the *Sūtra of Great Wisdom*.[181] According to the *Chanyao*

[176] Chaudhury 1969.
[177] Kang 1926. This copy of the text was kept until the 1920s at Hwajang Temple (화장사, 華藏寺), in what is now the DPRK, but has since disappeared.
[178] Haeng Lee (이행, 李荇), *Sinjeung Dongguk yeoji seungram* (신증동국여지승람, 新增東國輿地勝覽), 권 27 (2005), 영산현(靈山縣) 불자(佛字).
[179] *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* 1353
[180] This probably refers to the second set of five precepts that are given to one who becomes a novice monk, as the first five precepts are for all Buddhists, the laity as well as monastics.
[181] T.2089. 51, 9083a.

lu,[182] but not found in any of the other epitaphs, he also studied the "ninety-six types of non-Buddhist philosophies (*jiushi liu zhong zhiwai dao* 九十六種之外道)" in order to be able to distinguish for himself what was right and wrong in their contents.[183] He also studied the *Lotus Sūtra* (法華經), *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (華嚴經), *Avalokitêśvara-guna-kāranda-vyūha* (*Dacheng Zhuangyan Baowang jing* 大乘莊嚴寶王經寶王經), and the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經).[184] All of these were and continue today to be fundamental texts of Mahayana Buddhism. This education allowed Zhikong to be able to maintain a firm position on the aspects, concepts and positions of Buddhism, and to have the ability to confront those holding the heterodox ideologies that criticized these. This education would come to serve him well in his encounters throughout his life. This would especially be the case in the Yuan and Goryeo, as Buddhism in both of these countries had not only taken on cultural elements through adaptation and compromise but it was also in the process of undergoing radical changes due to the unstable political milieu both the Yuan and Goryeo were experiencing. This aspect of Yuan and Goryeo is discussed in more detail, especially in chapters five and six.

According to these studies, and primary sources in the epitaphs and the *Chanyao lu*, it is reasonable to conclude that Zhikong received a wide education regarding both Buddhist and non-Buddhist religious theories, as well as other educational contents. There are additions to his education mentioned in the earlier-compiled *Chanyao lu* preface that are not mentioned in the epitaphs that were compiled later, including Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong. The fact that the information on Zhikong in the epitaphs portray him mainly as a Chan monk while the *Chanyao lu* depicts a more varied education suggests that the later works on Zhikong, by Goryeo and Yuan elites, expose a possible East Asian Buddhism bias concerning the depiction of Zhikong.

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[182] *Preface to Important Points on the Mind Passed Down by Buddhist Patriarchs of the Indian Sects*, in *Chanyao lu*.
[183] Heo 1997, 18. Heo suggests that these refer to the study of "heterodox teachings (*yixue* 異學)," the various political traditions opposing Buddhism that existed in India up to and at the time of Zhikong.
[184] T.2089. 51, 9083b; and Heo 1997, 106.

In addition, Zhikong's discussions with his teacher Vinayabhadra suggest the fostering in him of a critical judgment concerning the religious theories he was taught as well as the ability to critique the 'erroneous viewpoints' of the "heterodox ways (*waidao* 外道)."

> [Zhikong asks Vinayabhadra about] the differences between the Buddha, sentient beings, emptiness, and the three worlds. [The] master responds: "[It] is "neither existence nor non-existence," [and] this is "true wisdom."" [He] then [tells Zhikong to] go and study under the monk Samantaprabhāsa on Jixiang Mountain [in the] state of [Sri] Lanka to more deeply study the meaning of truth.
>
> 若有得問諸佛眾生。虛空三境界 師云。非有非無。是真般若. 可往南印度楞迦國吉祥山普明所。研究奧旨.[185]

This exchange implies that Zhikong's wide learning and knowledge base gave him the understanding to be able to know how to critically and self reflectively inquire about the fundamental issues concerning Buddhism. Zhikong asked Vinayabhadra about the differences between the Buddha, sentient beings, "emptiness (*kong* 空, *śūnyatā*)," and the three worlds (past, present, and future). His master responded that understanding of these "differences" was in fact realization of each of them as "neither existence nor non-existence (*feiyou feiwu* 非有非無)," and the realization of this was "true wisdom (*zhen bore* 真般若)." The implication of that inquiry process is that no thing had inherent existence in and of itself, nor was any thing separate from all other things. Vinayabhadra then told Zhikong to leave Nālandā and to go and study under the monk named Samantaprabhāsa on Mt. Śrīgirī (Jixiang shan 吉祥山) in the state of Sri Lanka, an island southeast of the Indian subcontinent, in order to more deeply study the meaning of truth. Vinayabhadra had realized that Zhikong was ready for his level of understanding to begin to deepen, in order to have the potential to transform and become the realization of wisdom. For that reason, he sent Zhikong to a teacher who could help him deepen his understanding of Buddhism and realize enlightenment.

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[185] T.2089. 51, 9083a.

The concept “neither existent nor nonexistent” refers to the principle of the “Middle Way (*zhongdao* 中道),” the essence of classical Buddhism, which also includes the third of the “three forms or characteristics (*san xiang* 三相)”; the absence of existence and nonexistence. Thus, “true wisdom,” which is unchanging and indescribable, is ultimately realized neither merely in knowing the various religious theories nor in merely knowing the ever-changing things of the conventional world and the fact that they are all empty, or ultimately that not even one of them has permanent existence. Nonetheless, explication of Zhikong’s thought in chapter five shows that throughout his career Zhikong held and demonstrated that these are essential to prepare one’s mind to allow realization, or enlightenment, to occur. Zhikong was nineteen when he completed his education at Nālandā, so had studied in the Nālandā education system for eleven years. Thus, based on the given evidence, it is probable to conclude that he received the bulk of his early yet extensive preliminary learning in the state of his birth. And, as I discuss in chapter three, under Samantaprabhāsa in Sri Lanka Zhikong’s main experience would be the practice of meditation. The implication is that this was the required next stage in Zhikong’s development of practice toward the realization of awakening, and that the emphasis of the Buddhist teaching of Samantaprabhāsa and in Sri Lanka was meditation.

In the following section, I provide a geographical distribution of ten of the most important elements of Zhikong’s thought, teaching and practice. It offers an intricate introduction to and account of the peoples, places, encounters, Buddhist concepts, and activities that I discuss in more detail in chapter three to five, as I follow Zhikong to Sri Lanka, the from there throughout the Indian subcontinent, and then into the Yuan and Goryeo. The elements in the following section also set up the discussion in the two sections in this chapter that follow it, which are on the issue of whether Zhikong’s Buddhism was more associated with the Esoteric school or the Chan school, or whether a designation is even warranted.

Geographical Distribution of Ten Key Elements of Zhikong's Thought, Teaching, and Practice

There are ten elements which comprise the core of Zhikong's thought, teaching and practice. I establish their order based on the prevalence with which they were applied or discussed by Zhikong, as well as the number of times they are referred to in the primary sources used in this study. I discuss specific instances of each of these elements in more detail primarily in chapters three and four, as these instances are presented in Zhikong's encounters with the peoples he met during his journey to Yuan China and Goryeo Korea as well as his life in the Yuan.

The first element is "giving precepts (*shoujie* 授戒)," "receiving the precepts (*shoujie* 受戒)," and following precepts (by Zhikong and others), including "proselytizing, or teaching for conversion (*jiaohua* 教化)" as a "missionary monk (*bu jiaoshi* 布教師)" and proselytizer (*changdao* 唱導)." The second is " giving discourses or conducting "assemblies (*hui* 會)" in which he "expounds on Buddhist teachings (*shuofa* 說法)." The third is " confronting those engaged in "heterodox practices (*waidao* 外道)." The fourth is " engaging in aspects of a "Chan encounter dialogue (*Chan wenda* 禪問答)" or "*Dharma* test (*fa juyang* 法擧揚)," including the "question and answer exchange (*wendui* 問對)," "head phrase (*huatou* 話頭)," and "public case (*gongan* 公案)" The fifth is performing, encountering or being associated with "miracles (*yiji* 異蹟)." The sixth is "meditating (*ding* 定)" or "sitting meditation (*zuochan* 坐禪)." The seventh is applying "true words (*zhenyan* 眞言)," and "mystical invocations (*zhou* 咒, *mantra*)" or "*dhāranī* (*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼)" or "poetic hymn/verse (*song* 頌, *ji* 偈, *jita* 偈他, jiatou 伽陀, *gāthā*)." The eighth is experiencing instances of the realization of "awakening or enlightenment (*jiewu* 覺悟)," either "sudden (but incomplete) awakening (*dunwu* 頓悟)" or "understanding (complete) awakening, *jiewu* 解悟)." The ninth is referencing, "copying (*xiejing* 寫經)," or discussing Buddhist texts as a "*vinaya* scholar (*minglü* 明律)." The tenth is staying at specific locations for extended periods.

Primacy of the Precepts

Of all the elements that comprise Zhikong's thought, teaching and practice, reference to the element of "precepts (*jie* 戒)" in the primary sources is most pronounced in terms of application, discussion and instance of reference. It is referred to eighteen times. Precepts are the core element of Zhikong's thought. Their utility in the *samsaric* world is merely as a potential precursor or catalyst to the experience of realization, or enlightenment. Thus precepts, like everything else on the *samsaric* world, are ultimately empty. The element of precepts includes "giving precepts" and following precepts (by Zhikong and others), "proselytizing, or teaching for conversion" as a "missionary monk" and proselytizer. In my analysis of the element of precepts, there are three categories; the following of precepts by Zhikong, the giving of precepts by Zhikong, which includes to those who received the precepts and those who "left home (*chujia* 出家)," and the following of precepts by his sponsors, disciples or lay followers.

The following of precepts by Zhikong is discussed or referred to directly five times in the primary sources discussed in this study. First, Zhikong impressed the king in the state of Yudi (于地國) after the king offered him a prostitute to bathe with, by "keeping the religious precepts against murder, robbery and doing evil and lewd things."[186] Second, in the desert in the state of Sindh (Shentou guo 神頭國), Zhikong had the encounter with the spirit as an old man, who turned out to be a type of "snake-spirit (*mang* 蟒, *mahoraga*)," that was a protector of Buddhism. It scolded the starving Zhikong for stealing fruit, but Zhikong showed it that the ultimate "goal" of emancipation sometimes demanded flexibility in the following of precepts. This encounter with the "snake-spirit" indicates the maturity of Zhikong's thought concerning the conventional but ultimate emptiness of precepts, by highlighting his flexible, situation-specific and personal enactment of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts (*wuxing jie* 無生戒)." Third, in Tridhara (Deliluoer

[186] 以吾有殺盜邪淫之戒.

guo 的哩囉兒國) the starving Zhikong avoided having sex with a woman who expected it after giving him food. Fourth, Zhikong upheld the "precept forbidding the taking of life (*bu shasheng jie* 不殺生戒)" by stopping a local monk from killing and cooking a "liberated for merit (*fangsheng* 放生)" goose. Fifth, at the beginning of the Tianli period (1328 or 1329) and at an assembly in the imperial courtyard in front of the emperor, many of the monks in attendance disgusted Zhikong so much by their haughtiness that he cut off his discourse. Afterwards, when they were reprimanded for this, Zhikong's fame as a moral model spread.

The giving of precepts by Zhikong or the receiving of the precepts from Zhikong by his followers are discussed or referred to directly ten times in the primary sources. First, in Drāvati (Duoluofu guo 哆囉縛國), a nun accepted the teachings from Zhikong.[187] Second, during his years at Zhengxu Temple in Yunnan, the number of those who "obtained the Way" could not be counted. Third, in Anning (安寧州), after Zhikong gave a discourse on the *Sūtra of Good Precepts*, a monk and officials and others in attendance demonstrated their conversion to Buddhism by "burning (incense marks) on the head and arms (*randing fenbi* 燃頂焚臂)".[188] Fourth, in Guizhou (貴州), all the peoples of the cave-dwelling barbarian tribes in the region asked to "receive the precepts." Fifth, In at Chongren Temple (崇仁寺) in Dadu, a Goryeo lady named Chang requested an "ordination ceremony (*shijie* 施戒)" from Zhikong. Sixth, during his stay at Sungsu Temple (숭수사, 崇壽寺 Chongshou sa) near Gaegyeong and under the sponsorship of a Goryeo "concubine Wei (Wei *shunfei* 未順妃)," Zhikong "gave the precepts" according to the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* to many people, including commoners, members of the royal family, and court nobles. Seventh, in the tenth month in 1327 while traveling in Goryeo, Zhikong was on the way to Hua Mountain (화산, 華山), near today's Seoul, with about 1000 disciples training under him. Eighth, in seventh month of 1328 and near the end of his stay in Goryeo, Zhikong taught the

[187] 有尼默契.
[188] 請說戒經。燃頂焚臂。官民皆然.

precepts at Yeonbok Pavilion (연복정, Yanfu ting 演福亭). Ninth, shortly after the end of the Tianli period, the wife of a high official of the Imperial Treasury who was of a Goryeo "Kim (김, Jin 金) clan and a patron of Zhikong, "left her family" and "received the precepts" from Zhikong. Tenth, Empress Gi (Gi Hwanghu 기황후, Ji Huanghou 奇皇后) was a major sponsor during Zhikong's entire life in the Yuan capital, and was instrumental in the establishment and maintenance of Fayuan Temple (法原寺).

The following of precepts by Zhikong's sponsors, disciples or lay followers is discussed or directly referred to three times in the primary sources. First, in the prefecture of the Anxi king Fukedi,[189] Zhikong argued with the king, who asserted that by merely uttering one "true word (*zhenyan* 真言)" verse, he could "transcend rebirth (*chaosheng* 超生)." Zhikong countered this by stating that reliance on such incantations is wrong, invoking that according to the law of *karma* that a murderer is always a murderer. To augment his point, he said that "compassion (*cibei* 慈悲)" was the true teaching of Buddhism and anything else was heresy.[190] Second, near Dongting Lake (洞庭湖) in Hunan province, Zhikong uttered the "three refuges (*sangui* 三歸)" and the "five moral precepts (*wujie* 五戒)" in both Sanskrit and Chinese. Third, at the end of his ten-year period of recluse, Zhikong appeared to insult the royal family by saying that everyone served him and that he was "king of the *Dharma* (*fazhong wang* 法中王)." This statement was meant to highlight the idea that following the precepts and rules of comportment all the time, with no deviation, is too limiting, and that his representative praxis of following "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" was the true way.

[189] 安西王府. 與王傅可提.
[190] 慈悲真佛子. 反是 真外道.

Discourses and Assemblies

Instances of Zhikong giving discourses or assemblies in which he "expounded on Buddhist teachings (*shuofa* 說法)" are discussed or directly referred to thirteen times in the primary source materials. First, in the southwest Indian city of Kāncipūra (Xiangzhi guo 香至國), today's Andhara Pradesh, a Huayan master discoursed on the "20 forms of the enlightened mind (*ershi zhong puti xin* 二十種菩提心)" and Zhikong gave the example of "the one is many and the many are one (*yiji duoduo jiyi* 一即多多即一)." Second, on Mt. Mārīcī (Molizhishan 摩利支山) in Kalingavastu (Jialingjia guo 迦陵伽國), Zhikong argued with a "Brahmin ascetic (*fanzhi* 梵志)" who asserted that hastening one's death in this life would allow one to be reborn in a better life. Zhikong responded by stating that the cultivation of Buddhist practice is in the mind, not of the body, and that one should cultivate the laws of Buddhism such as the "six perfections (*liudu* 六度)" and the "ten grounds of bodhisattva practice (*shidi dengfa* 十地等法)." Third, in Drāvati (Duoluofu guo 哆囉縛國), Zhikong "sat and discoursed on Buddhism (*zuoxia yu* 座下語)." Fourth, in Karana (Jialuona Guo 迦羅那國), Zhikong "expounded on the *Dharma* (*shuofa* 說法)." Fifth, in Malasa (Mosuosuo guo 末羅娑國), Zhikong discoursed on the *Treatise on Refuting Error*. Sixth, in Nepal (Mijialuo guo 禰伽羅國), the ruler asked Zhikong to "lecture on scriptures (*shuojing* 說經)," and he "took turns expounding (*huxiang xuanshuo* 互相宣說)" with another monk. Seventh, the Anxi (安西) king Fukedi (傅可提) "asked Zhikong to teach him the *Dharma* (*qing liuxue fa* 請留學法)," but they ended up arguing and disagreeing. Eighth, in Anning prefecture (安寧州) in Yunnan, a monk asked Zhikong to lecture on the *Sūtra of Good Precepts*, and many along the route asked him to "expound on the *Dharma* (*shuofa* 說法)." Ninth, at Donglin Temple on Lu Mountain (Lushan Donglin si 盧山東林寺), when Zhikong was asked the meaning of "wisdom," he explained that "the three types of mind cannot be obtained (*sanxin buke de* 三心不可得)." Tenth, Emperor

Jinzong (晉宗) praised Zhikong's ability to discourse on the *Dharma*.[191] Eleventh, at Borim Temple (보림사, Baolin sa 寶林寺) in Goryeo, Zhikong lectured on the doctrines in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. Twelfth, at the beginning of the Tianli period, Zhikong and other monks "lectured on Buddhism (*jiangfa* 講法)" in front of the emperor. Thirteenth, during the Zhizheng (至正, 1341 to 1368) period, Zhikong had an audience with the empress and crown prince, to explain the *Dharma*. He said, "Those who study to possess the Buddha *Dharma* are engrossed in defending the fortune of all under heaven….(and) He who has ten-thousand but who lacks one can not rule all under heaven."[192] This political statement invokes a Buddhist concept applicable to rule, and one that is representative of Zhikong's thought. It is the concept that "all things are contained in one."

Confronting Heterodoxy

Instances of Zhikong confronting those who were engaging in "heterodox practices (*waidao* 外道)" are discussed or directly referred to twelve times in the primary sources. First, the king and his people of the state of Yudi (于地國) believed in heterodox ways, but the king was impressed with Zhikong's ethical fortitude in having a prostitute bathe with him but "acting like a dead man," thus not responding "appropriately" to her, while doing so. Zhikong also offered a model by which the locals could rid themselves of the evil "*yinyang* offering (*yinyang gongyang* 陰陽供養)," a ritual practice involving sex. Second, in Drāvati (Duoluofu guo 哆囉縛國), Zhikong discoursed on Buddhism to an audience that included orthodox and heterodox teaching believers. Third, the people of Karana (Jialuona Guo 迦羅那國), in today's Mysore region, believed in heterodox ways. To them, Zhikong discoursed on a chapter from the *Sutra of the Great Stately Virtuous Merits of the Treasure King* and expounded on the *Dharma*, and ended up striking those in attendance with his Chan staff until they "understood." Fourth, in Jālandhar (Cuolengtuo guo 嵯楞陀國), today's

[191] 論佛法稱旨.
[192] 佛法自有學者 專心御天下幸甚…..萬中缺一。不可為天下主.

Kashmir, Zhikong encountered the "crazy" monk, with the ox-heads that represented the "three poisons or afflictions (*sandu* 三毒)" of the mind, and also met Daoyan of Anouchi who set fire to his straw monastery whenever someone passed by. Fifth, in Malasa (Mosuosuo guo 末羅娑國), also in today's Kashmir, after Zhikong discoursed on the *Treatise on Refuting Error*, those with heretical views accepted his orthodox views. Sixth, in Tirahut (的哩候的國 Delihoude guo) Tehri, west of Tibet, Zhikong encountered Brahamanism (Poluomen fa 婆羅門法) and other heterodox views. Seventh, in the prefecture of the Anxi king Fukedi, Zhikong confronted the king to critique his version of esoteric thought. Eighth, in Tibet (Xifan 西蕃), Zhikong had dangerous confrontations with the local "*mantra* masters (*zhoushi* 咒師)," who tried to kill him, but also met others who supported his views and not those of the *mantra* masters. Ninth, in northwestern Yunnan (雲南) as well as in the state of Dali (大理國)**,** Zhikong encountered peoples who worshiped "molded (clay) figurines (*suxiang* 塑像)" of charismatic individuals who perform miracles. These peoples made such figurines of Zhikong to pray to during a flood or drought or epidemic. Tenth, during his years founding and establishing Zhengxu Chan Temple (正續禪寺) near Kunming, the tribal peoples in the area had long been perceived by the Han Chinese as "barbarians (*man* 蠻)" having "vulgar customs" and a "licentious, wanton nature." It was the work of the "two Chan nobles," Chaozong (朝宗) and Zhikong, that finally pacified these peoples. Eleventh, in Guizhou (貴州), the variety of "cave-dwelling barbarian (*dongman* 洞蠻)" peoples had not known Buddhism, but their "minds were aroused (*faxin* 發心)" to Buddhism by Zhikong. In addition, the Wu Meng (烏蒙) people in the Zhengyuan district (鎮遠府) of Guizhou engaged in "meat sacrifices (*rouji* 肉祭)." Zhikong could not persuade them to change their ways. Twelfth, in Huguang county (湖廣省) near the east coast of China, Zhikong encountered numerous "unusual

spiritual occurrences (*lingyi* 靈異)" and skeptical government officials, but was able to overcome them.

"*Chan* Encounter Dialogue" or "*Dharma* Test"

Instances of Zhikong engaging in "Chan encounter dialogues (*Chan wenda* 禪問答)" or "*Dharma* tests (*fa juyang* 法擧揚)" are discussed or directly referred to ten times in the primary sources. First, there is Samantaprabhāsa's question and Zhikong's six-month delayed response exchange in Sri Lanka that resembles the "question and answer exchange (*wendui* 問對)" aspect of a Chan encounter dialogue. An aspect of this type of dialogue is also suggested in the second instance, this time in the Cholas (Zuoli guo 佐理國), where Zhikong exchanged "poetic verses (*jisong* 偈頌)" with the king. Third, in the country of Karana (Jialuona Guo 迦羅那國), Zhikong expounded on the *Dharma*, and then "helped" those in attendance who were speechless come to "understand" by giving them twenty strikes with his Chan staff.[193] Fourth, in Jālandhar (Cuolengtuo guo 嵯楞陀國), today's Kashmir, Zhikong's encountered a "crazy" monk with the ox-heads, and his interaction with monk Daoyan of Anouchi included paradoxical statements that offer meanings at various levels of understanding. The first encounter invokes the concept that every thing is ultimately "originally non-existent (*benwu* 本無)," and the second that all Buddhist practices consist of "one fragment (*cheng yipian* 成一片)," meaning that they are integrated and thus are a perfectly complete entity. Fifth, in Malasa (Mosuosuo guo 末羅娑國), today's Kashmir, the "seeds (*zhong* 種)" planted by the monk that grew into vegetables can be interpreted as symbolizing "Buddha-nature (*foxing* 佛性)," a representative concept of the Chan school. Sixth, in Anavatapata (Anouda guo 阿耨達國), southeast of Malasa today, Zhikong presented a "poetic verse (*ji* 偈)"to and "exchanged shouts (*xianghe* 相喝)" with a monk. Seventh, in the nearby Josa kingdom

[193] 侍者無語。痛行二十棒 乃悟.

(Zhaosuo guo 早娑國), Zhikong and a monk had a non-verbal exchange reminiscent of a "*Dharma* test (*fa juyang* 法擧揚)," in which Zhikong hit the monk three times with his Chan staff and received a punch in response.[194] Eighth, the "molded (clay) figurines (*suxiang* 塑像)" of Zhikong made by the local peoples of Dali had "Chan staffs (*chan bang* 禪棒)."[195] Ninth, at Zhengxu Temple, Zhikong engaged in intense meditation. He "took no food, and just sat (and) the side of his body did not touch the mat." Tenth, also at Zhengxu Temple, the initial memorial stele to commemorate the completion of the construction of the temple records that "as for Chan learning in the southwest, (this area is) actually the source of the Chinese Chan tradition," and refers to Zhikong as a "Chan noble."

Miracles

Instances of Zhikong performing, encountering or being associated with "miracles (*yiji* 異蹟)" are discussed or directly referred to nine times in the primary sources. First, as a child, Zhikong had an auspicious birth befitting one who would become an eminent monk in the future, due to his parents' prayers to the "Great benevolent-ruling spirit of the east (Dongfeng Daweida shen 東方大威德神)." Second, after his father became ill, Zhikong's parents allowed him to become a monk based on a fortuneteller's prediction that doing so would cure his father's illness. Third, in the Thār Desert in Sindh (Shentou guo 神頭國), Zhikong had an encounter with the "snake spirit (*mang* 蟒)" as an old man. Fourth, in Tridhara (Deliluoer guo 的哩囉兒國), Zhikong emanated the "light of the Buddha-ray (*fangguany rui* 放光瑞)" while in "meditative concentration (*ding* 定)" in a cave. Fifth, also in Tridhara, Zhikong "burned incense and chanted an invocation (*shaoxiang yizhu* 燒香一祝)" to conjure up rain[196] during a drought and to avoid being killed by those who believed he had

[194] 吾便與三捧。彼迴一拳.
[195] 吾像禪棒.
[196] 吾燒香一祝。大雨三日.

caused the drought. Sixth, in Dali, the peoples of some of the indigenous tribes worshipped Zhikong by fashioning and praying to clay figurines of him, but when some troublemakers knocked the Chan staffs from the figurines they could not pick them up. Seventh, in Kunming, Zhikong meditated under a tree in the rain at Zubian Temple (祖變寺) but his clothes did not get wet. Eighth, during a drought at nearby Longquan Temple (龍泉寺), he successfully instructed a dragon in the well to draw water for the people.[197] Ninth, along the road near Dongting Lake (洞庭湖), Zhikong observed many "divine miracles (*yiji* 異蹟)," and he used his powers to cause the wind and waves to subside.

Meditation

Instances of Zhikong engaging in "meditative concentration (*ding* 定)," "entering into meditative contemplation (入定 *ruding*)" or doing "sitting meditation (*zuochan* 坐禪)" are discussed or directly referred to six times in the primary sources. First, in the northwestern Indian state of Tridhara (Deliluoer guo 的哩囉兒國), Zhikong was "sitting in the lotus position (*jiejia fuzuo* 結跏趺坐)" for seven days and nights, and subsequently "entered into meditative contemplation (*ruding* 入定)." Second, in Shu (蜀), today's Sichuan (四川) province, Zhikong performed "sitting meditation" for three years in front of a huge statue of Samantabhadra.[198] Third, near the old city of Kunyang (昆阳), near today's Kunming, Zhikong "entered meditative concentration" and later instructed a dragon to draw water from a well to help the local people during a drought. Fourth, during his years at Zhengxu Temple, "the side of Zhikong's body did not touch the mat," which allowed him to realize "complete penetration through meditative insight (*canchan* 參禪)." Fifth, in the Yuan capital and after the Tianli period, Zhikong became a recluse

[197] 吾命龍 引泉濟眾.
[198] 至蜀。禮普賢巨像。坐禪三年.

and “did not eat or speak for more than ten years.” This suggests that it was a period in which he engaged in intense meditation practice.

Utilizing “True Words”

Incidences of Zhikong applying a “true word (*zhenyan* 眞言),” “mystical invocation (*zhou* 咒, *mantra*),” “*dhāranī* (*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼),” or “poetic hymn/verse (*song* 頌, *ji* 偈, *jita* 偈他, *jiatou* 伽陀, *gāthā*)” are discussed or directly referred to six times in the primary sources. In every case, the purpose was either to produce “this-worldly benefits (*xianshi liyi* 現世利益)” for others, to relieve them of their suffering, or to impress others with his “spiritual resonance (*gantong* 感通)” in order to turn them toward Buddhism.

First, in Sri Lanka, Zhikong thanked his teacher Samantaprabhāsa with a “poetic verse (*jisong* 偈頌)” when they met the final time. Second, Zhikong exchanged “poetic verses” with the king of Cholas (Zuoli guo 佐理國). Third, in Tridhara (Deliluoer guo 的哩囉兒國), Zhikong uttered a “mystical invocation (*zhou* 咒)” to invoke rain. Fourth, in Anavatapata (Anouda guo 阿耨達國), he uttered a “poetic verse” in response to the “crazy” monk’s acts. Fifth, in the Zhengyuan district (鎮遠府) of Guizhou (貴州), Zhikong let out “an exclamatory shout (*yihe* 一喝)” to contend with those engaging in “lascivious sacrifices” (*yinsi* 淫祀).” Sixth, at Dongting Lake (洞庭湖) near the east coast, Zhikong uttered the “three refuges (*sangui* 三歸)” and the “five moral precepts (五戒)” in both Sanskrit and Chinese in order to control the strong wind and the rough waves.[199]

Experiences of the Realization of Awakening

Zhikong experiencing instances of the realization of “awakening or enlightenment (*juewu* 覺悟)” is discussed or directly referred to six times in the primary sources. The experience of realization of

[199] 為說三歸五戒. 唐梵互宣.

enlightenment could refer to either "sudden (but incomplete) understanding awakening (*dunwu* 頓悟)" or "sudden (and complete) realization awakening (*jiewu* 解悟)." First, during his six months meditating in a cave in Sri Lanka under the tutelage of Samantaprabhāsa, Zhikong "suddenly realized illumination (*naiwu* 乃悟)." Second, in Cholas (Zuoli guo 佐理國), while engaging in a dialogue with the king and a Buddhist nun, Zhikong suddenly "let out a shout (*yihe* 一喝)" and the nun realized "great enlightenment (*dawu* 大悟)."[200] Third, in the Thār Desert in the country of Sindh (Shentou guo 神頭國), in his encounter with the "snake spirit (*mang* 蟒)," Zhikong suddenly "reached the other shore (*dao bian* 到彼岸)," meaning he realized "complete perfection (*boluomi* 波羅蜜, *pāramitā*)." Fourth, in Tridhara (Deliluoer guo 的哩囉兒國), people saw light coming out of a cave in which Zhikong was meditating. The light was the "Buddha-ray (*fangguany rui* 放光瑞)," the light which emanates from one who is experiencing *samādhi* or "meditative insight (*ruding rui* 入定瑞)." It is one of the "six portents (*liurui* 六瑞)," or six auspicious indicators of such an experience. Fifth, at the Jinsha River pass (Jinsha *heguan* 金沙河關) in Yunnan, Zhikong himself had another experience of suddenly "reaching the other shore (*dao bian* 到彼岸)" while hiding in a riverbank. Sixth, during his years at Zhengxu Temple, Zhikong "opened up to proper (full) realization." This means that he finally not only achieved "right meditative concentration (*sanmei* 三昧, *zhengding* 正定, *samādhi*)" but also realized "complete penetration through meditative insight (*canchan* 參禪)," or "realization (complete) awakening (*jiewu* 解悟)."

Utilizing Buddhist Texts

Instances of Zhikong referencing, "copying (*xiejing* 寫經)," or discussing Buddhist texts as a "*vinaya* scholar (*minglü* 明律)" are discussed or directly referred to six times in the primary sources.

[200]吾一喝 尼大悟.

First, in Luoluoxu guo (囉囉許國), in today's Bengal, Zhikong discussed the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Fahua jing* 法花經). Second, in the country of Karana (Jialuona Guo 迦羅那國), Zhikong discoursed on the chapter on the Hindu god-king Maheśvara (or Shiva), found in the *Sutra of the Great Stately Virtuous Merits of the Treasure King* (*Da Zhuangyan Gongde Baowang Jing* 大莊嚴功德寶王經). Third, in Malasa (Mosuosuo guo 末羅娑國) or today's Kashmir, Zhikong discoursed on the *Treatise on Refuting Error* (*Poxie lun* 破邪論). Fourth, in Nepal (Mijialuo guo 禰伽羅國), Zhikong "lectured on the Buddhist scriptures (*shuojing* 說經)." Fifth, in Anning prefecture (安寧州) in Yunnan, Zhikong discoursed on the *Sūtra of Good Precepts of the Bodhisattvas* (*Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經), which contains explications on the *bodhisattva* precepts. Sixth, in Borim Temple (보림사, Baolin sa 寶林寺) on the southeastern tip of the Goryeo peninsula, Zhikong lectured on the doctrines in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Banzhu Jing* 般著經).

Extended Stays

Zhikong staying at a place for an extended period of time is discussed or directly referred to nine times in the primary sources. They are organized here in order of time of occurrence, not in terms of length of stay. This is a key element in that staying at particular locations for extended periods suggests locations that were influential in terms of what Zhikong did in them or for his reasons for extending his stays there. First, Zhikong spent a summer retreat season on Mt. Mārīcī (Molizhi shan 摩利支山) in Kalingavastu (Jialingjia guo 迦陵伽國). Second, Zhikong studied meditation in Sri Lanka under Samantaprabhāsa for six months. Third, Zhikong spent three years in Shu (蜀), today's Sichuan (四川) province, perhaps near the city of Chengdu (成都). The place he may have stayed at could have been Guangxiang Temple (光相寺) on Emei Mountain (峨眉山), as it is considered the residence and "place of enlightenment (*puti daochang* 菩提道場)" of the *bodhisattva* Samantabhadra. Third, Zhikong spent a "summer meditation retreat (*zuoxia* 坐夏)"

season at Longquan Temple (龍泉寺), which was probably in the old city of Kunyang (昆阳), which today is in Yunnan near Kunming. Fourth, Zhikong spent up to five years at Zhengxu Chan Temple (正續禪寺) in Wuding (武定) county on Lion Mountain (Shishan 狮山), which is located about one hundred kilometers northwest of today's city of Kunming, in Yunnan. Fifth, Zhikong probably spent some time in the mountain monasteries along Zhongqing circuit (中慶路) in eastern Yunnan, because he gave "a total of five assemblies (*fan wuhui* 凡五會)" there. Sixth, Zhikong spent some time during his two years and seven months in Goryeo at temples on Geumgang Mountain (금강산, Jingang shan 金剛山). It is recorded that he did stay for one month at Sungsu Temple (숭수사, Chongshou sa 崇壽寺) at the request and sponsorship of "concubine Wei (Wei *shunfei* 未順妃)." Seventh, on the second month of 1328, Zhikong was staying at Tongdo Temple (통도사, Tongdu si 通度寺), one of the "Three Jewel Temples of Goryeo," located near the southeast tip of the peninsula. Eighth, in the seventh month of 1328 C.E. and near the end of his stay in Goryeo, Zhikong spent time at at Yeonbok Pavilion (연복정, Yanfu ting 演福亭) in Gaegyeong, which is located north of today's Seoul but in the DPRK. Ninth, on his way back to the Yuan capital, Zhikong spent time at Hwajang Temple (화장사, Hwazang si 華藏寺) on Myounghyang Mountain (묘향산, Miaoxiang shan 妙香山), in the Geumgang mountain range in today's DPRK.

Zhikong's Encounters Present Him in the Image of the Former Indian Esoteric Masters

Just like the aforementioned three early Indian Esoteric masters of the 8th century, Shanwuwei, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra,[201] Zhikong spent time in the Nālandā university-temple complex studying under and with the important Indian Buddhist teachers of his day. What is frustrating is that there are virtually no primary source Indian texts that mention any of these figures, and none

[201] Chou 1945.

on Zhikong. Almost all of the textual references to the four of them are in East Asian, mainly Chinese, sources. Therefore, primary sources record the Chinese or East Asian perspective concerning the idealized image of Indian Buddhist masters from Central Asia. In fact, the biographies of the three former Indian esoteric masters were not compiled until three centuries after they had passed, by Zanning (贊寧, 919-1001 C.E.) in 988 C.E. in his *Song Gaoseng zhuan* (宋高僧傳). Yi Saek compiled Zhikong's biography about fourteen years after his passing.

Zhikong was at best merely a marginal figure in India when he left for the east, never to return, and it is certain that the trope of the ideal Indian esoteric master preceded Zhikong into East Asia. The stories of Zhikong's encounters in the travelogue by Yi Saek contain many allusions to similar encounters recorded in the hagiographies of these famous esoteric masters. The pattern is too similar in structure to be coincidental and unintended. In this section, I present some examples of the esoteric wandering master trope image, along with six of the characteristic aspects of that image, that were perpetuated in the hagiographies of the former esoteric masters as well as Zhikong. These six aspects include the performance of acts of magic, in the service of Buddhism, a royal pedigree, and auspicious birth, health problems as a youth that were overcome, an elite education, and extensive foreign (to China) travel, again in the service of Buddhism.

First, and arguably the most representative act of magic as proof of the efficacy of one's powers, is that of producing rain. Shanwuwei prayed for rain when Central India suffered from a severe drought, and a short time later Avalokitesvara could be seen in the sun with a water jar pouring water to the ground.[202] On another occasion, upon the emperor's request to pray for rain, Shanwuwei used a *dhāranī* (*zhu* 祝) and a "mystical invocation (*zhou* 咒, *mantra*)" to summon a dragon that brought a huge storm.[203] Vajrabodhi was ordered by the emperor to set up an altar to

[202] Ibid., 259. One of the earliest recorded occasions of a Buddhist monk praying for rain in China was by She Gong (涉公, d. 380 C.E.) in the 4th century C.E. A later Esoteric sect master, Dharmaksema (Tanwu 曇無, d. 433 C.E.), used a "*dhāranī* (*zhu* 祝)" to cause water to spring from a rock.
[203] Ibid., 268-269.

pray for rain, and it did so after he painted in the eyes of the *bodhisattva* statue on the altar.[204] Amoghavajra did the same after a more specific request by the emperor in an edict that said, "The rain must not last too long, neither must it be too heavy."[205]

As for Zhikong, one of a number of examples of rain-making is found in an encounter he had at the northern border of Tridhara, in what is today northwestern India, during his travels.

> [I] travelled for a long time [but] did not see [any] people. [I] suddenly came to several roads [yet my] heart was joyous. [However] those people grabbed me [and] took [me] to the king's residence [and] knelt, saying: "The heavens are dry, and this is most certainly strange. Please let [us] kill him." [The king said: "[We] will soon see. (if this is the case that he's responsible) Wait. [If there is] no rain in three days, then [you can] kill [him]." I burned incense [and recited] an "invocation." It rained three days [later].
>
> 行且久未見人。忽遇諸途。心甚悅。其人捉吾 至王所 面跪曰。天旱必此妖也。請殺之。王曰。且縱之。三日不雨 殺何遲。吾燒香一祝。大雨三日.[206]

Zhikong met people on a road who hurried him to their king, telling him that killing Zhikong would rid the country of its drought. They asked the king if they could kill him Zhikong, but the king told them to wait three days, and if it did not rain by then, then they would know the drought was due to him. Zhikong then burned incense and recited a single *dhāranī* which produced rain. This story presents a number of allusions that directly relate Zhikong's experience to those of the past Indian esoteric masters. First, rain was produced through the power of magic in the esoteric tradition. Second, there was the involvement of the king of a nation of nonbelievers in the decision by Zhikong to make rain. Implicit in this story is an expectation by the king that Zhikong had the ability to make rain. Third, there was the pacification and implied conversion of the people of this country to Zhikong's form of Buddhism, after he demonstrated the efficacy of his magic to produce rain. This story of Zhikong's form of Buddhism was superior to that of the barbarians' suggests that

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[204] Ibid., 276-277.
[205] Ibid., 292. In fact, because he served more than one emperor, Amoghavajra was ordered on more occasions to prove the efficacy of his powers. Emperor Taizong said, "If it rains within three days it will be due to your magic power. If it rains after three days, the credit will not be yours." In response, Amoghavajra then impressed him by successfully bringing rain. Ibid., 298.
[206] T.2089. 51, 0984b.

the power religion, and that they could be converted by a thaumaturge such as Zhikong with powers superior to theirs.

Another story, somewhat disjointed, tells of Zhikong making rain in Kunming (Yunnan city) in Yunnan for the minority peoples there.

> To the west of Yunnan city, there was a temple. [In the] room above the gate [I] entered "meditative concentration." A monk living [there] asked [me] to enter the city. [I] arrived at Zubian Temple [and] sat [meditating] under a tree. It rained at night [but] when it cleared up [my] clothes were not wet. At the provincial office [I] prayed for clear weather [and my prayer was] immediately answered. I [attended the] "summer meditation retreat" [at] Longquan Temple [and there I] copied the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit. [The people of] the assembly [of the temple] lacked water [so] I instructed the dragon to draw water to aid the people.
>
> 雲南城西有寺。上門樓入定。居僧請入城。至祖變寺。坐桐樹下。是夜雨。既明 衣不濡。赴其省 祈晴立應。坐夏龍泉寺。書梵字般若經。眾聚乏水。吾命龍 引泉濟眾.[207]

This time Zhikong produced rain by invoking a dragon. First he arrived at a temple and "entered meditative concentration (*ruding* 入定, *samādhi*)," implying his association with the Chan school. He then went to another temple in the city and sat (in meditation) under a tree. Miraculously, during the night rain, he did not get wet. Later, Zhikong's prayers for good weather were answered. He then went to Longquan Temple (龍泉寺) and copied out the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit. When asked by the people to make rain, he ordered the dragon of the temple spring to do so. In these stories, it is clear that Zhikong's Buddhism was eclectic and broad. This story describes how he individualized and contextualized his application of Buddhism to fit the mindset of those he was interacting with. There is no mention of how Zhikong had acquired this wide range of expertise in a variety of Buddhist traditions. In this story, Yi Saek presented Zhikong performance of acts of magic as fact.

Zhikong denounced the form of esoteric Buddhism that emphasized "true words," but he did use incantations and verses from the *sutras* he translated and copied explicitly for the purpose of performing miracles for the benefit of others. Thus, his use of these incantations and verses in order

[207] T.2089. 51, 0984b.

to produce miracles reflected his devout attitude as one who strived toward the fundamental realization of emancipation, rather than one who merely "sought personal fortune (*qiufu de* 求福的)" or "this worldly benefits (*xianshi liyi* 現世利益)" for himself. He used his ability as a thaumaturge to help those in distress as well as to convert others to Buddhism.

> Also during a great drought, the Master, [his] compassion [having] arisen, thereupon [in] "one thought-moment" promptly made the weather obey [him. Thus] a bad year became a prosperous year. Is [he] not like one who is as capable of enacting change [like the] Greatly Compassionate Bodhisattva [who has such] power [due to] the vow [made in a former life]?
>
> 又當大旱 師乃一念興悲 卽致雨暘順 適荒年 化爲豐年 若非大悲菩薩乘宿願力 而來化者孰能加是哉.[208]

In this passage, Zhikong is presented as having the power of a *bodhisattva*. There was a drought and he made the weather better for the crops over the period of the growing season. The crops were able to recover from the drought and that year's "harvest was good (*fengnian* 豐年)." Zhikong is emulated as having the powers to control the weather like the Great Compassionate Bodhisattva (Dabei Pusa 大悲菩薩),[209] who, through the power of the "vow made in a previous life (*suyuan* 宿願)" to help all sentient beings realize enlightenment, has supernatural abilities such as these.

Second, an auspicious birth in a faraway land, third, a royal pedigree, and fourth, an illness that is associated with becoming a monk (in Zhikong's case, becoming a monk to heal a parent's illness), are representative aspects of the wandering esoteric master trope. Shanwuwei, like Sakyamuni himself, was born into a royal family, but in Central India rather than in northern India. He appeared to be a divinity from his birth, being endowed with many auspicious virtues that he expressed early through his many accomplishments.[210]

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[208] *Chanyao lu* 1326.
[209] This is a reference to Avalokitêśvara, the *Bodhisattva* of Great Pity. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[210] Shanwuwei's father tested him by putting him in important positions such as commanding the army at the age of ten and succeeding the throne at thirteen. This led to a rebellious struggle among his brothers that Shanwuwei himself had to put down. See T50.714b11-16.

Vajrabodhi, whose father was a Brahman and teacher of the king of Malay in southern India, was a precocious child with a photographic memory. He was able to read ten thousand words a day and remember whatever he read for the rest of his life. His leaving the household was probably due to having planted good (*karmic*) seeds in former lives.[211] Amoghavajra, whose father had died very early in his life, left North India to visit China with his uncle, where he became Vajrabodhi's disciple. He also displayed an amazing ability to learn quickly. Amoghavajra became an expert in Saravastivadin Vinaya texts even before being ordained, learned many foreign languages, and completed a twelve year course in six months.[212]

As already mentioned, Zhikong was born into a royal family as a result of his parents' prayers to the God of Great Majestic Virtue in the Eastern Area. From his birth he only liked pure foods; no wine or garlic to agitate his senses. When his father became ill and diviners told him that he could recover if a son "left home" (to become a monk), Zhikong, the youngest of his three sons, volunteered despite his mother's initial strong opposition. Nonetheless, she eventually accepted this, and his father subsequently recovered.[213]

The fifth and sixth representative aspects are an elite education and the experience of traveling widely, especially with direct and explicit direction to do so. All of the three former esoteric masters share these with Zhikong. Shanwuwei traveled widely and made pilgrimages to various sacred Buddhist locations. He visited several countries on a merchant ship, covering vast distances. Shanwuwei had learned the "five vehicles and three teachings (*wusheng sanjiao* 五乘三教)"[214] of Buddhism, and had studied "the mystic key to the Gate of Meditation and held the secret seal of

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In addition, going against the custom of putting his brothers to death for rebellion, and as an expression of his compassion, Shanwuwei abdicated and received his mother's tearful consent to his request to become a monk. Later, during his wanderings, he made pilgrimages to many sacred spots, visiting them three times each. His extensive wanderings made his mother think he was dead, and her crying made her lose her eyesight. Shanwuwei's letter to her restored her sight as before. See T50.714c20-21.

[211] T50.712b8-11.

[212] T50.712a25-b3.

[213] T51.983a15-20.

[214] The "five vehicles" refers to the five teachings according to the potential to understand of the listener; men, gods, *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, and Buddhas and *bodhisattvas*. The "three teachings" probably refers to either the sudden, gradual and indeterminate teachings, or the teachings of form, emptiness and the middle way.

Tathagata" under Dharmagupta (Damoguduo 達摩瀫多), who was eight centuries old, at the Nālandā Mahāvihāra complex.[215] Dharmagupta also taught Shanwuwei such subjects as "*dhāranī* (*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼)," "yoga (*yuqie* 瑜伽)" and the Three Sects doctrines,[216] then told Shanwuwei that he had been predestined to go to China.[217] As for Vajrabodhi, he began his studies at the age of ten at Nālandā and became a monk at sixteen. His studies included the *sutras*, *abhidharma*, and the *vinaya* of the eighteen schools. He then went to West India to study Hinayana treatises, *yoga*, *dhāranī* and Three Secrets doctrines.[218] After traveling through more than twenty countries, he heard that Buddhism was prospering in China and decided to go there by sea, which took him several years.[219] As for Amoghavajra (705-774 C.E.), his biography contains the most detailed and numerous descriptions of his wide travels, conversions and acts of magic of the three early masters. In addition to becoming an expert in the *vinaya*, he arrived in China at the age of ten and was trained there by Vajrabodhi (two aspects that set him apart from the other two 8th century figures as well as Zhikong) most specifically in esoteric rituals and practices. He was ordained by Vajrabodhi at the age of fourteen. However, for the breadth of his knowledge Amoghavajra seems to have had no regular teacher and obtained over five hundred sutras and commentaries,[220] yet he converted hundreds, even thousands.[221]

Amoghavajra's biography set a new direction away from that of the other two. It offered a more distinctive presentation of a self-taught master who traveled widely and converted many "strange peoples." This may have been what inspired Zhikong's hagiographers to allude to most when

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[215] T50. 714b20-c1; and Chou 1945, 255.
[216] These refer to Mahayana, Hinayana, and Vajrayana.
[217] Shanwuwei's travel tales contain a variety of experiences of conversion and pacification of local groups, almost exclusively through acts of magic in the esoteric tradition. He died in Loyang shortly after his request to return to India was denied by the Emperor. See T50. 716a2-3.
[218] These are the secret of the body, of speech, and of mind. See T50.711b11-15.
[219] Although most efficacious of the three masters concerning the performance of *dhāranī* to achieve intended results, Vajrabodhi seems to have been known for his solemn demeanor and wide learning. He could answer questions on *sutras*, *sastras*, *vinaya* texts, secret *dhāranī*, and his speech and behavior were always solemn. He also died in Loyang. See T50.712c22-27.
[220] T50.712c4-7.
[221] His biography contains more specific stories of orders by the emperor, through edicts and memorials, to perform acts of magic to control a wider range of natural phenomena than merely rain. See T50.712b12-13.

memorializing him. Nonetheless, Yi Saek focused more on the details in the stories of Zhikong's travels and experiences of converting unbelievers through magic and demonstrations of the efficacy of Buddhism than on the description of his learning. This aspect is a major departure by Yi Saek in his presentation of Zhikong from Zanning's presentation of the three 8th century masters. This emphasis on details in these stories suggests that Zhikong may have been a marginal figure in Indian Buddhism before arriving in Yuan China to stay.

One telling example of the lack of clarity in the presentation of the extent of Zhikong's learning is a story in which he was ordered in 1328 by Imperial Command back to Dadu (Yanjing) to discourse on the *Dharma*, along with other monks, in front of the emperor.[222] Nothing was added to concerning his discourse other than that the other monks fought amongst themselves with great airs to try to outdo one another in importance and that Zhikong was disgusted by their arrogance. Yi Saek recorded that soon most of those rude monks were discredited while Zhikong's fame spread throughout the land. This story implies that he was above the rest of the monks in terms of demeanor and doctrinal learning, but there is nothing about what he discoursed on that could highlight the specifics of his learning. In line with the entire tone of Yi Saek's work these aspects are taken as factual representations, and they are not substantiated by anything other than allusions and hints of mystery.

While Zhikong shared with these three Indian esoteric masters the experience of traveling widely, and to China, unlike them the extent of Zhikong's education before commencing his travels to the Yuan and Goryeo never to return is not made explicit in extant texts. Nonetheless, specific aspects of his education can be inferred by an examination of the methods by which he taught and proselytized and the concepts he utilized during his travels, which I do in chapter three to five.

[222] T51.983c23-26.

Who Says Zhikong Exhibited Chan Thought?

The accepted general overview of the initial spread of Buddhism out of India concerns two early branches of Nikaya Buddhism. The teaching and learning as well as the concept of the *bodhisattva* centering on the "Great Assembly (Dazhong bu 大衆部, Mahāsāmghika)"[223] branch spread north and east into East Asia while the "School of the Presiding Elders (Shangzou bu 上座部, Sthavira)" branch spread south into Southeast Asia. Bodhidharma brought "independent Chan" Buddhism to China from Kāncipūra (Xiangzhi guo 香至國) in southern India. In China, Chan Buddhism flourished in the Yangzi River region in the south, including the Yunnan region where Zhikong spent up to five years, while Buddhist teaching and learning dominated in the north. Enichi Ocho asserts that what he calls "differentiated Chan"[224] existed in the thought forms of the Yoga and Tiantai schools of Buddhism, due to their interaction with the forms of Buddhism extant in northern China.

Concerning the Chinese Buddhist context, Robert Gimello[225] holds that by the end of the Song, thus by late in the 13th century, Chan had already begun deemphasizing its subversive posture that attacked the extreme dependence on received tradition. It did continue to maintain its distinctive features of intensification, enhancement, & experiential fulfillment of orthodoxy, and its conservative impulse that emphasized continuity of lineage. However, "non-emptiness" strains of Mahayana, such as the "womb of potential Buddhahood (*rulai zang* 如來藏, *tathāgatagarbha*)" concept and soteriological practices based on "public case," were rising in influence. These contrasted with the extreme of emptiness of "sudden Chan," and contributed to valorizing in Chan the position that the "path (of practice toward enlightenment) (*dao* 道, *mārga*)" is effectively salvific precisely because it is empowered by the prior or preexisting presence of yet-unrealized

[223] This is considered the basis for the Mahayana movement that later would assert as primary the concept of the *bodhisattva*.
[224] Enichi Ocho (横超慧日), "Early Chinese Buddhism of Chan Authorities (初期中國佛教者の禪觀の實態)," *Research on Chinese Buddhism* (中國佛教の研究), 法藏館 (1928).
[225] Robert M. Gimello, "*Mārga* and Culture: Learning, Letters, and Liberation in Northern Sung Chan," in *Paths to Liberation*, ed. R.E. Buswell, Jr. and R.M. Gimello (Kuroda Institute: University of Hawaii, 1992).

Buddhahood even in the imperfect realm of effort & practice, and even among the laity. Gimello[226] stresses that Buddhist history has shown that one ultimately must deliberately relinquish any *mārga* or path that is understood as normative or prescriptive, and surrender to the immediacy and unpredictability of contingent experience or power of the other. The quite theoretical literature on *mārga* or path holds that disengagement from it as formal or artificial procedure is, in the end, a paradoxical requirement of *mārga*. In effect, the path toward the realization of enlightenment is, in the end, no-path. Faure asserts that while the Chan school and sects claim access to unmediated experience via meditation, meditation is itself a ritualized activity. The way Chan reconciles this paradox is that rituals can be understood though the "two truths" of phenomenal and ultimate reality. By this, the efficacy of ritual activity is simultaneously affirmed and denied.[227] Tambiah, in his work on the performative aspects of ritual activity, writes that "the prime value of these [activities] is their therapeutic value as 'focusing' mechanisms… as 'supporters of contemplation' or transporters into a trance state…."[228]

I demonstrate in this dissertation that Zhikong's view concerning precepts parallels these theoretical approaches of paradox. For him, one initially engages in the following of precepts as ritual activity, thus as a "focusing mechanism." However, one ultimately must deliberately relinquish any following of precepts that is understood as normative or prescriptive, and surrender to the immediacy of his representative practice of enacting "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." The following of precepts toward the realization of enlightenment becomes, upon realization, neither following nor not following precepts. Prior to realization is a process of following and a practice, but subsequent to realization is enactment and cultivation. The enactment of each precept, as well as the enactment of all precepts, represents the pure and undistracted mind of cultivation. This suggests that the "mind of the precepts (*jiexin* 戒心)," "the mind of meditative

[226] Ibid.
[227] Faure 1991, 295-296.
[228] Stanley J. Tambiah, "A Performative Approach to Ritual," in *Proceedings of the British Academy* (New York: Oxford University Press, Vol. 65, 1979), 141.

concentration (*dingxin* 定心)," and "the mind of wisdom (*huixin* 慧心)"are all, in essence, expressions of the same one, "True Mind" of the Buddha.[229] Therefore, his soteriological paradigm of practice, or his praxis, essentially was to ultimately come to realize the "True Mind" through the following of precepts, and to continue to express the "True Mind" through the enactment of the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" after this realization.

Rather than advocating the primacy of the "non-practice," or exclusively meditative concentration, as Zhikong felt that Chinese Chan did, Zhikong instead asserted that "absence of discriminating thought (*wuxin* 無心)" and "(neither arising nor) non-arising (*wusheng* 無生)" were integral to his emphasis on "precepts teachings (*jiefa* 戒法)." Nonetheless, Zhikong did advocate the practice of Chan meditation, or "meditative concentration," as a fundamental part of his soteriological paradigm of practice. In addition, Heo[230] points out that Zhikong often used "Buddhist verses (*jisong* 偈頌)" to express the state of mind of emancipation or liberation, but these verses were not emphasized among the well-known and characteristic Chinese Chan meditation devices, the "public case" or the "head phrase." Zhikong found ways to affirm, and then upon realization of awakening to deny, a variety of practices by placing them within the Chan framework and his soteriological paradigm of cultivation.

Gimello also hypothesizes that the true mystical experience of Buddhism is enlightenment itself, and that the conceptualization of the experience of liberation (*nirvana* or *bodhi*) throughout Buddhism is not what is conventionally assumed as mystical experience.[231] He supports his hypothesis by stating that the key to substantiation in the Mahayana tradition lies in the universal claim that its soteric goal is not (merely) an experience at all. The soteric goal of Mahayana is a way of life, of conduct, a manner of acting. The only "goal" worthy of the *bodhisattva*, as opposed

[229] Heo (1997, 103-104) asserts that the three minds Zhikong refers to are the "past mind (*guoqu xin* 過去心)," "present mind (*xianzai xin* 現在心)," and "future mind (*weilai xin* 未來心)."
[230] Heo 1997, 103-104.
[231] Robert M. Gimello, "Mysticism and Meditation," in *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis*, ed. Steven T. Katz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

to the Hinayanan *sravaka* or *arhant* who is intoxicated on the liquor of *samadhi*, is *aparatishita-nirvana*, the "nirvana of no fixed abode."[232] This correlates with Zhikong's representative practice of enacting "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." The soteric goal of Zhikong was to personally enact, and thus be a teacher of and model for, the life of conduct of a *bodhisattva*.

New *marga* strategies were created in the post-Song period as Mahayana acceptance of the secular world was emphasized. The emphasis of teaching was on the laity and their worldly problems, not on monks only. This wider inclusion of the laity corresponded with the rise of "lettered or literary Chan (*wenzi Chan* 文字禪)" among the literati. Neo-Confucian-trained scholars and officials were increasingly adopting Chan elements into their writing, art, and leisure activities. By the Northern Song, the literati were disposed to include Buddhism in their interests and study, not as idle curiosity but at the cultural margins of literati society. By the end of the Goryeo and the Yuan, thus by the end of the 14th century, the Buddhist influences in Neo-Confucianism had not only become explicit, Neo-Confucianism had been adopted as the ruling ideology.

The Korean Buddhist scholar Heungsik Heo refers to Zhikong as the last Buddhist missionary from Nālandā in India to East Asia. He specifically asserts that Zhikong was a Chan monk by religious tradition, despite the well-supported view that he studied the *Mahā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* extensively in his youth and had deep understanding of the *vinaya* as well as a variety of the "scholastic (study) schools (*jiaoxue* 教學)" of Buddhism.[233] Heo writes that Zhikong was able to overcome the schism between the philosophical and soteriological perspectives of Northern and Southern Buddhist sects. However, though Zhikong brought his wide Buddhist learning to Yuan China, he was persecuted by the Yuan Buddhist *sangha*. It was only in Goryeo that Zhikong's teaching was understood and flourished. Heo implies that 13th century Goryeo Seon, based on Jinul's Seon thought and his interpretation of its unique features, was closer to Zhikong's form of

[232] Ibid., 190.
[233] Heo 1997, 65-66.

Buddhism than that of the Yuan period Chinese Chan sects. In addition, Heo also implies that even up to today Zhikong's influence is felt in the Korean Seon of the Jogye Seon Order.

As already mentioned, Zhikong practiced meditation under the guidance of Samantaprabhāsa in Sri Lanka. As well, Zhikong received symbolic confirmation of realization of illumination under him by receiving the bowl and robe and the laying of Samantaprabhāsa's hand on Zhikong's head, all symbolic referents to the Chinese Chan school. And, as recorded in the travelogue of the Moroccan adventurer Ibn Battuta and as I discuss in chapter three, Chinese pilgrims to Sri Lanka in the mid-14th century were commonly seen at the site of Adam's Peak, as the footprint relic at that site had long been considered in East Asia as that of the Buddha. Therefore, it is possible that knowledge of Chinese Chan existed in Sri Lanka and southwestern India during the early 14th century when Zhikong was there.

Nevertheless, the type of meditation study and practice that Zhikong received in Sri Lanka seems to have had elements that were different from those of the sects of Chan he encountered in Yuan China and of Seon in Goryeo. The *Chanyao lu* records that the ideological lineage of Zhikong is of a separate transmission from the orthodox Chan lineage of Bodhidharma. In this text, Zhikong's Goryeo disciples claimed Zhikong as the 108th successor of the Chan lineage from Kāśyapa. I discuss this in more detail in chapter three. However, Naong received verification of enlightenment and transmission from the 18th Patriarch of Chinese Linji Chan sect, Pingshan Chulin (平山處林, 1278-1361 C.E.) in China, prior to receiving the symbols of transmission from Zhikong. Naong then returned to Goryeo after ten years in the Yuan to use his lineage transmissions by these two in order to augment and consolidate his position the national orthodox Jogye Seon Order. In addition to Naong, Zhikong also attracted many influential monks from the Jogye Seon Order, specifically descendants of founder Jinul's "Society for the Cultivation of Seon (Suseonsa gyetong 수선사계통, *Xiuchan she xitong* 修禪社系統)" of Mt. Songgwang (, 松廣山). I discuss the significance of Naong's relationship with Zhikong in more detail in chapter six.

Conspicuously absent from the explication of Zhikong's thought in the *Chanyao lu* are classic Chinese Chan characteristics such as the teaching that is "not established on words and letters (*buli wenzi* 不立文字)," "direct pointing to the individual's mind (*zhizhi renxin* 直指人心)," and "separate transmission outside the teaching (*jiaowai beichuan* 敎外別傳)." This absence suggests that the Chan-like aspects of Zhikong's teaching and practice represented in that text, written by his Goryeo Buddhist disciples and Goryeo Confucian scholar-official sponsors, may have been more representative of the Goryeo Buddhist lens of the compilers of the text than of Zhikong's actual Buddhist thought. Zhikong stressed that *Dharma* (*fa* 法) as truth or reality or way, in the sense of this being the teachings of the Buddha, must be realized when completing the teachings, and that realization of "the way of (neither arising nor) non-arising (*wusheng fa* 無生法)" was the best and most fundamental law or truth. Thus, as the realization of the "reality of (neither arising nor) non-arising" is the essential "goal" of Zhikong's praxis of following "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts," his disciples understood that his thought was directly associated with his soteriological paradigm of following or enacting "religious precepts (*jielü* 戒律)," or monastic discipline. According to Zhikong's thought, the state in which one naturally follows or enacts "the (neither arising nor) non-arising religious precepts" is the state of "residing in unimpeded and unmoving awareness (*zizai budong* 自在不動)," or emancipation. Zhikong established that the unified mind in "meditative concentration (*ding* 定)" is the mind in the state of emancipation, or freedom. I discuss these concepts and others as representative of Zhikong's thought in more detail in chapter five.

The following or enactment of religious precepts is primary in Zhikong's interpretation of the ("goal" of the) establishment of the mind in "meditative contemplation." He asserted that this "goal" was different from the "core (*hexin* 核心)" of "Chan meditative contemplation (*chanding* 禪定)" of

the Chinese Chan school and sects, which he claimed was "non-practice (*wuxing* 無行)."[234] In contrast to the Chan meditative contemplation system of "non-practice," Zhikong's system of practice includes an initial adherence to and reliance on a comprehensive system of precepts and an emphasis on guiding others toward and in Buddhism, specifically by teaching and proselytizing. Thus, Zhikong's paradigm of practice is more overtly social and other-oriented, in contrast to the Chinese Chan school's individualism. On these points, Zhikong's paradigm of practice is more essentialist than the Chinese Chan school system.

A question was asked: "When deluded thoughts arise, how can they be subdued and then cut off and eliminated?" Zhikong replied: "When deluded thoughts arise, the deluded mind is [still] originally empty. So it does not arise. [Emptiness exists] at the center by itself. Even though the nature of deluded thoughts is to arise, the reality is that they come from no place. They are like the waves in the middle of the ocean. Even though they seem to arise, ultimately they are not separate from the ocean."

問日 妄念起時 作何方便 而可斷除 師云 妄念起時 妄心本空 亦無所起 於中自者 則妄念雖起 實無來處 比如海中波濤 雖起終不離海.[235]

In this passage, Zhikong referred to the limitation of "meditative contemplation" as an exclusive practice. He suggested that the Chinese Chan school's exclusive emphasis on "meditative contemplation" alone as an activity of the individual practitioner, without any requirement involving interacting with and guiding others, separates one from others. He likened this separation to the mistake of seeing a wave on the ocean as something separate from the ocean. This is the manifestation of the "foolish mind (*wangxin* 妄心)." Zhikong instead compared this un-awakened or deluded, thus a pre-realization, mind to an ocean wave. Such a mind is merely a limited expression of the much more expansive "True Mind (*zhenxin* 眞心)," just as each of the waves is merely one small part of the vast ocean. This wave-ocean metaphor is a favorite metaphor of the

[234] Zhikong suggested that the" non-practice" of Chinese Chan refers to a non-reliance on a comprehensive system of specific rules or precepts of comportment, as well as an (undue) emphasis on sitting meditation with a particular posture and individual freedom concerning the practice regime. Also, he suggested that the "non-practice" of Chinese Chan does not emphasize guiding others as much as his paradigm does. In contrast, his soteriological system of practice, the "way of the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts," is based on the following of precepts, and thus not merely or primarily engaging in "sitting meditation." His system also includes a more explicitly active concern for others, along with direct acts to demonstrate this concern.

[235] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

Huayan, not Chan, school. And, as I discuss in chapters five and six, in the Korean context the Hwaom school and its concepts have been much more influential in the Korean Jogye Seon Order than the Huayan school and its concepts have been in the Chinese Chan school and sects.

Zhikong augmented his own view of practice by emphasizing the "one is many [many] is one (*yiji duo jiyi* 一卽多卽一)" concept, the core of the Huayan school's seminal text, the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*. Zhikong applied this concept to justify his stance that the following of precepts was the essence of practice as well as, upon realization of awakening, the expression of emancipation. Zhikong did not perceive this position to be a main aspect of the Chinese Chan school, but in chapter six I discuss how this is a key aspect of Goryeo Seon. The *Chanyao lu* records Zhikong offering what he designated as the core concept of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, "the indivisibility of the three minds of practice (*sanxin buke de* 三心不可得)," as validation of his perspective on the primacy of following precepts in practice as well as in the expression of emancipation.

Zhikong's thought and praxis functioned as a system of practical ethics for members of secular society as well as the *sangha*, as it was based in *vinaya* teachings. He did not advocate Chan meditation as an exclusive practice or as a separate and independent form of practice, nor did he strongly advocate a particular special training method. He questioned what he perceived as the Chinese Chan school's approach of separating the following of precepts or the expression of wisdom from (the practice of) "seated meditative contemplation." He seemed to share an affinity for teaching and learning with the "meditation on the head phrase (*ganhwa seon* 간화선, *kanhua chan* 看話禪)" practice, a key practice of both the Jogye Seon Order, the Linji Chan sect, and its by-then defunct early Goryeo counterpart, the Imje Seon sect. The first two were the dominant Seon and Chan sects of Buddhism in Yuan China and Goryeo Korea, respectively, at the time of Zhikong.

With this background, what can we look forward to in the upcoming chapters concerning the youthful Zhikong's initial attempts at proselytization during his travels? I assert that key aspects of

Zhikong's Buddhism, that emphasized moral discipline, an openness to creative expression of this moral discipline in action, and a practice-oriented acceptance of scriptural study, were also the same key aspects of the Korean Seon that Jinul had envisioned and taught and that those in his lineage were perpetuating at the time of Zhikong. I do accept the view that Zhikong's thought was more accepted within the context of the Jogye Seon Order, the preeminent form of Buddhism in Goryeo during Zhikong's time, than it was in the context of Yuan China's Chan Buddhism. However, I hesitate to accept the view that Zhikong was a Chan monk by religious tradition. The fact that the majority of the key primary sources on Zhikong that we have today were compiled in Korea and written by individuals that were more associated with or knowledgeable about Korean Buddhism colors our understanding of Zhikong and his thought. The fact is that he spent an overwhelmingly majority of his life on the Indian subcontinent and in Yuan China, and a mere two years and seven months in Goryeo Korea.

Concerning Buddhism in the Yuan capital of Dadu (Beijing) early in the 13th century, the Vinaya sect (Jielü zong 戒律宗) was quite active,[236] but it was the larger and more widespread Chan sect, Caoxi zong (曹溪宗), which received imperial patronage.[237] By the mid 13th century, the Chan sect, Linji zong (臨濟宗), established its presence in the Yuan capital. Then, by the 1260s, Tibetan Lamaism was flourishing in Dadu, and tantric sexual rituals were held in the Mongol Yuan court and as well as in the Goryeo court.[238] Zhikong opposed this practice. Xuezheng Yang writes that Zhikong "stressed on the commandment[s]."[239] As already mentioned, Zhikong's earliest teacher Vinayabhadra suggested that Zhikong travel to Sri Lanka to study *prajna* doctrines. This is evidence that Zhikong's early training emphasis was of the *Vinaya* sect, not specifically Chan.

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[236] Yun-hua Jan, "Chinese Buddhism in Ta-tu: The New Situation and New Problems," in *Yuan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion under the Mongols*, ed. Hok-lam Ch'an and William T. de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 376.
[237] Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 411-414.
[238] Herbert Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China." In *China under Mongol Rule*, edited by John D. Langlois, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 296-328; Sorensen 1993, 69; and Song Lian (宋濂), *Yuan Shi* (元史, *History of the Yuan Dynasty*) (ca. 1370) (205): 4582, (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju (北京: 中华书局)), 1976.
[239] The term "commandments" here refers to "precepts." See Yang 1997.

Nonetheless, it seems likely that after entering and subsequently living in East Asia, Zhikong learned and applied aspect of Chan in his practice, teaching, and proselytizing.

Goryeo's Jinul saw himself as autonomous and independent of any lineage, and it appears that Zhikong, like Jinul, did not emphasize strict adherence to a particular lineage and was also living a life of relative autonomy concerning sectarian concerns in the Chan Buddhist *sangha* in Yuan China and the Jogye Seon Order in Goryeo Korea. Gimello[240] suggests that as Jinul exposed himself directly to the tensions and antinomies in Buddhism while being independent from the political aspects of the *sangha*, he was able to envision a Seon soteriological paradigm that was "inherently, creatively and purposively unstable and open." I assert that Jinul, like Zhikong, refused to relax the tension between moral discipline of following precepts, with its regimens of deliberate, methodological, progressive and differentiated action, and the ultimate goal of transcendence of the following of precepts. Zhikong's paradigm of practice emphasizing meditation and the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" also offered creative flexibility in application. Jinul's version of a Seon soteriology was essentialist in that it validated the "sudden awakening - gradual cultivation (*dunwu jianxiu* 頓悟漸修)" paradigm of practice that valorized *samsāra* while simultaneously offering a soteriological paradigm to transcend (the clinging to) *samsāra*. I assert that Zhikong's soteriological paradigm of practice that emphasized the "truth of the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" was also essentialist for the same reason.

[240] Despite the fact that Jinul criticized the sudden practice of the Hongzhou lineage (洪州) of Chinese Chan, accepting in theory the idea that mistakes in practice are inevitable even for enlightened beings, Gimello asserts that Jinul actually belonged to the Korean branch of the Hongzhou lineage and, informally, to the Hongzhou school's foremost derivative, Linji (臨濟, Imje 임제), which was the dominant Chan tradition in China throughout most of the Song dynasty period. Gimello further asserts that the late Northern Song was an age of Chan counter-reformation or "catholicism," an age of moderation and sober, orthodox ecumenism, while the Southern Song Buddhism, particularly that of Dahui, was an age of renewed Chan radicalism or resurgent Chan "protestantism" that rejected lettered Chan (*wenzi chan* 文字禪)" for "meditation on the head phrase (*kanhua Chan* 看話禪). Jinul and those subsequent generations in his lineage sought to avoid extreme forms of practice. I put Zhikong among them on this point. See Gimello 1990, 172-191.

Jaeryong Shim[241] holds that Jinul saw practical measures as paramount for his paradigm of practice, not theoretical concerns. In Jinul's Seon paradigm of practice, the emphasis was on praxis, not explanation. This was also the emphasis in Zhikong's practice paradigm. Shim holds that the past as well as present goal of every Korean Buddhist has been a non-sectarian unified Buddhism. I theorize that the aspects of practice discussed in this section are fundamental to Zhikong's eclectic form of Buddhism as well. I discuss this issue in more detail in chapter six, where I describe the affinity of Goryeo Buddhist thought to Zhikong's thought from the perspective of the historical development of Goryeo Buddhist thought.

As I also discuss in detail in chapter six, in 1358 Naong received a record of transmission from Zhikong.[242] However, it is not clear in this biography of Naong text what lineage of transmission Naong received from Zhikong. Sorensen[243] writes that Zhikong transmitted "secrets of esoteric Buddhism." As already mentioned, Yi Saek[244] asserted that Zhikong was "the 108th descendent of Kāśyapa," the "pure Chan" lineage, and held that it was this lineage that Zhikong transmitted to Naong. Sorensen[245] writes that this is a "totally absurd" fabrication by Naong and his followers, and is a reflection of the importance that monks and secular rulers placed on lineage and transmission in late Goryeo and early Joseon society. Sorensen also asserts, contrary to the views of many Korean scholars, that the esoteric tradition was an integrated part of the makeup of Korean Buddhism and that "there was an influence from late Indian Buddhism on Korean Son through the transmission of certain esoteric practices and teachings."[246]

It is my contention that, after the passing of Zhikong, influential Goryeo Korean monks who belonged to the Goryeo Imje Seon (Chinese Linji Chan) lineage (which was minor to the lineage of Jinul) and who had studied under Zhikong in the Yuan capital, specifically Naong Hyegun

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[241] Shim 1999, 20-23.
[242] *Entire Collection of Korean Buddhist Works* 1984, Vol. 6, 710c.
[243] Sorensen 1993, 75-80.
[244] T51.982c.20.
[245] Sorensen 1993, 80.
[246] Ibid., 89.

(나옹혜근, Lanweng Huiqin 懶翁慧勤) and Muhak Jacho (무학자초, Wuxue Zichao 無學自超), perpetuated a perspective concerning practice that had an affinity to Zhikong's eclectic version of Buddhism.

I propose that there are underlying commonalities between the Buddhism Zhikong promoted and taught to members of the local minoritized groups in the Wuding area and Yunnan region, the Buddhism he promoted among his disciples, followers and sponsors (a key group being the expatriate Korean community) in the Yuan capital, and the Korean Seon envisioned and promoted by Jinul. Zhikong was "anti-Tantric," a point made by Waley,[247] specifically concerning Zhikong's aversion to ritual sexual practices, or "lascivious sacrifices (*yinsi* 淫祀)," and "meat sacrifices (*rouji* 肉祭)." This aspect of Zhikong's version of Buddhism distinguished him from Tibetan Lamas and the tantric practices associated with them (and the aforementioned "*mantra* masters (*zhoushi* 咒師)" of Tibet that were active among the Mongols in the Yuan capital), and, along with other aspects of his eclectic Buddhism, endeared Zhikong to those in both the Yuan period Chinese and Goryeo period Korean Buddhist *sangha*.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed Zhikong's education as a child and the specific Buddhist texts and subjects of the curriculum that Zhikong studied in the Nālandā system. He studied various schools of Buddhism, specifically the disciplined training in the *vinaya*, debates and disputations, as well as other philosophies such as the "ninety-six types of non-Buddhist philosophies (*jiushi liu zhong zhiwai dao* 九十六種之外道)," that he would later express in his teaching and practice of Buddhism throughout his life. I also discussed how aspects of Yi Saek's depiction of him matched those of the eminent monk trope represented in early Chan biographies of eminent monks. As well, some stories of Zhikong's experiences throughout his adult life were clearly patterned after those of

[247] Waley 1932, 356.

the early monks of the esoteric tradition in China, specifically in his activities of a thaumaturge who uses *dharani* to perform miracles in order to promote Buddhism.

This raises the importance of contextualizing the historical development of Buddhism in India and Sri Lanka, which I do in chapter three, in order to situate Zhikong and his encounters and activities within that milieu. Zhikong's encounters in his journey to Sri Lanka, and then from there to the Yuan, showed his early attempts to test his discipline in following the rules of the *vinaya*, to develop his understanding and practice of Buddhism, to challenge other philosophies and customs with his understanding of Buddhism, and to formulate his perspective as a teacher and promoter of Buddhism.

CHAPTER 3: ZHIKONG BRINGS NALANDA, SRI LANKAN BUDDHISM, AND INDIAN ESOTERICISM TO EAST ASIA

In chapter two, I discussed the historical development of and changes in the Nālandā temple-university complex education system from its beginning and up to the time of Zhikong, as well as key elements of his thought. More can be gleaned about Zhikong's early education in Magadha and at Nālandā under Vinayabhadra by an examination of his methods, tactics, and conversations in his interactions with the people he encountered after leaving Nālandā. In this chapter, I first translate and discuss passages from primary sources on those interactions in his journey to Sri Lanka in search of Samantaprabhāsa, the teacher Vinayabhadra recommended. After that, offer a comparative survey of the places along the western border to the Indian subcontinent, and Sri Lanka, that both Zhikong and the mid-14th century Moroccan merchant Ibn Battuta both visited. This validates the existence of those places. Then, I survey the complex historical relationship between Indian and Sri Lankan Buddhism, specifically the rise and influence of esotericism on "classical" Buddhism and the expansion of Buddhism to more pervasively include the laity in moral education prior to Zhikong, to demonstrate how this informed his Buddhist education and thought. Following that, I discuss Zhikong's education and enlightenment in Sri Lanka under Samantaprabhasa. Finally, I focus on the portion of Zhikong's travels from the middle of the eastern part of the Indian subcontinent, thus starting from the Sindh desert, throughout the northeastern region that included Tridhara, Jalandhara and Malasa, and through the northern region that included Tirahut, Anavapta, Nepal and Tibet, and then into the Yuan.

In general, the forms of Buddhism that continued to exist in the countries of northern India, including the southern mountain range of the Himalayas and the passage to Tibet as well as Turfan (Tufan 吐蕃),[248] had become relatively indigenized and had acquired a strong degree of

[248] The area of Turfan, or Tubo, during the Yuan period was in the western part of today's Xinjiang, thus north and east of today's Tibet. Turfan's relationship with the Yuan was somewhat like today's Xinjiang's relationship with China on some

esotericism. Evidence in the primary sources shows that while Buddhism continued to exist along the entire eastern side of the Indian subcontinent, from Magadha to Sri Lanka, elements of esoteric Buddhism with eroticism exerted a strong influence.[249] Zhikong's encounters with various peoples presented opportunities for him to test the utility of his knowledge and his ability to use it to direct those with heterodox Buddhist beliefs and to convert non-believers. In addition, it is imperative for us to read his encounters on a different level; as descriptions of situations by which Zhikong's underlying philosophy of teaching and practicing Buddhism were concretely expressed.

It is imperative to continue to keep in mind that all the primary sources were written or compiled in East Asia and by East Asians, not in either India or Sri Lanka, and thus to be aware of a bias in the presentation of Zhikong. According to Stuart Young,[250] the imagery of Indian patriarchs in East Asian literature followed and shaped both the contours of period-specific and local socio-cultural conditions and situations in China. The representation of the patriarchs in medieval literature was quite different than how they are portrayed in modern scholarship on Buddhism. The imagery in Chinese language records of Indian Buddhist patriarchs in China resonated with important issues of the periods in which they were represented in primary source materials. These issues included imperial patronage, interaction with spirits, contending with heretics, and competition between religions. The compilers of primary source materials on and about Indian Buddhist figures did not merely passively transmit Indian tradition, whatever they perceived that to be. As I discussed in chapter one, they represented their perception of it through the imagery of the figures according to the contexts of the times and places in East Asia in which the texts were written. The field of East

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relevant points. Turfan during the Yuan had the status of "autonomous region (*suanzheng yuanxia di* 宣政院轄地)," in that it controlled it own politics and the religion of Lamaism while under the military authority of the Yuan. Zhikong and the followers of esoteric Buddhism and Lamaism in Turfan and Tibet used "true words" and "incantations," but did so for different reasons and were at odds with each other. Heo (1997, 35) suggests that Maha Pandita accompanied Zhikong back to Tibet from Yanjing, that Pandita was from near there in northern India, and that his belief system was closer to Lamaism. Therefore, he was treated with respect in both Yanjing and Turfan, as opposed to Zhikong. I add to that by asserting that during his decades-long stay in the capital, Zhikong had closer ties to the Goryeo Korean expatriate community in Beijing than with either the Mongol or Han Chinese community.

[249] Heo 1997, 32.

[250] The subjects of Young's study were Aśvaghosa (Maming 馬鳴, or Horse-cry), Nāgārjuna (Longshu 龍樹, or Dragon-tree) and Āryadeva (Tipo 提婆, or Deva), who all lived in second- or third-century India. They were the main figures of Mahāyāna Buddhism as it arose in the Indian sub-continent and are well-known in East Asian Buddhist literature. See Young 2005.

Asian Buddhist studies recently has had a tendency to interpret these texts as offering a reflection of, perhaps an idealized version of, Indian Buddhism. Also, the presentation of Indian figures in these texts follows idealized versions, or tropes, of Indian Buddhist monks. Most importantly, these idealized versions have been for the most part constructed by East Asians. As Robert Sharf points out, "The Chinese 'encounter' or 'dialogue' with Buddhism took place almost exclusively among the Chinese themselves, on Chinese soil, in the Chinese language."[251]

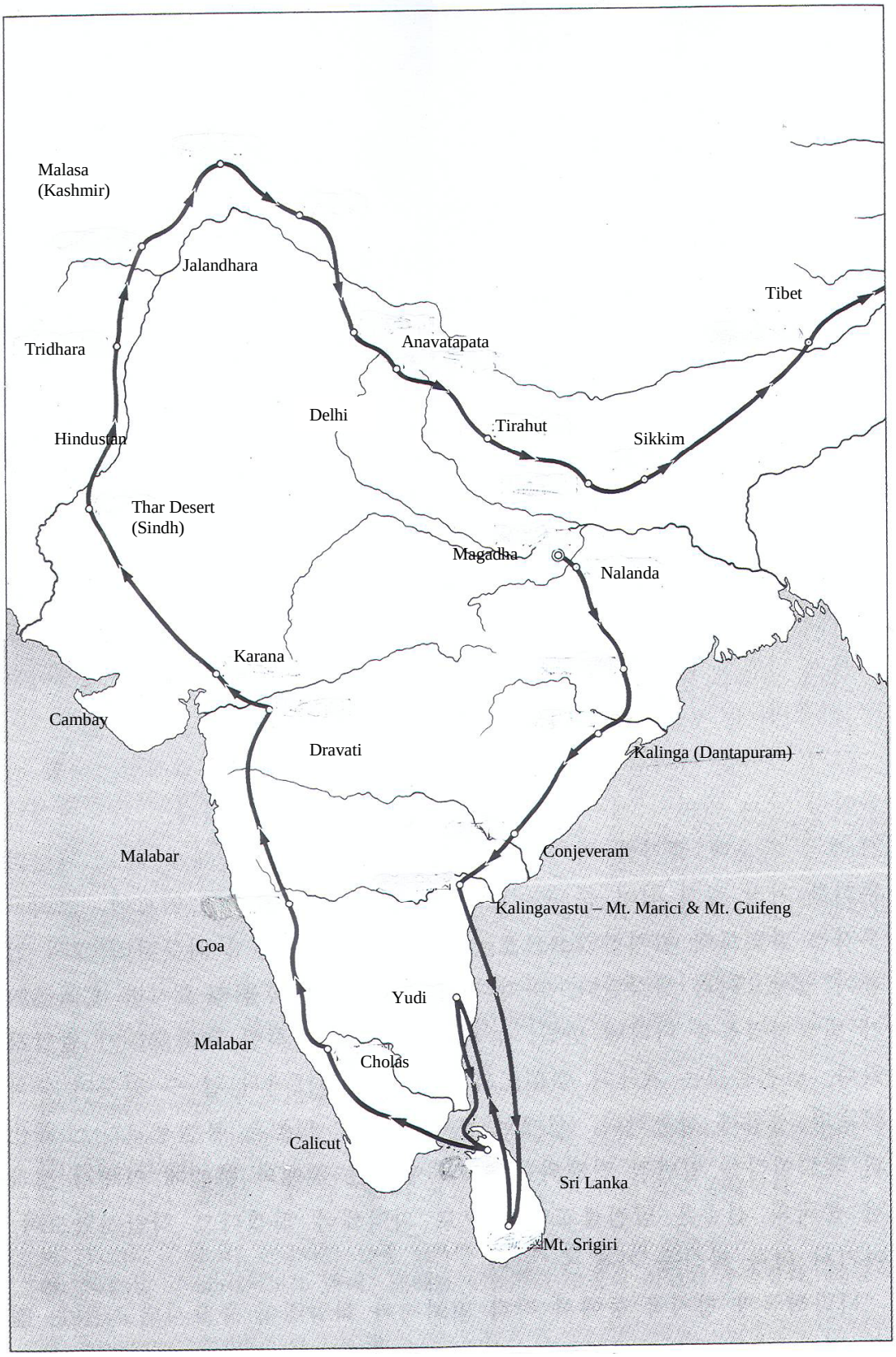
Zhikong's Journey from Nālandā to Sri Lanka

To follow Zhikong's route in this section, see Map 2. In Luoluoxu guo (囉囉許國), near Rādhaka, or Rādhāpuram, in today's Bengal,[252] Zhikong discussed the *Lotus Sūtra*. This demonstrates that he knew of and how to discuss the *Lotus Sūtra*, and that it was known and discoursed on there. Next, south of Luoluoxu guo, in Dantapura (Danduo guo 旦哆國) or Dantapuram,[253] a city within today's area of Orrisa, Zhikong directed the "promiscuous and naked men and women (*nannü zaju luoxing* 男女雜居裸形)" there to the "Great Way (*dadao* 大道)," namely Buddhism. This suggests that people who were following their unique native customs in that region were also receptive to conversion to Buddhism.

[251] Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the "Treasure Store Treatise"* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 2

[252] Buddhism continued to exist in Rādhāpuram as well as throughout the entire region of what is today's Bengal, even though the region was under Muslim rule by the last decades of the 13th century, the time that Zhikong was there.

[253] Also known as Danta, this area was the contemporary center of Vajrayana Buddhism, which was quite developed at the time Zhikong was there. See Heo 1997; and Gupta 2006, 590.



Map 2: Zhikong's route throughout the Indian subcontinent

Zhikong then went south and spent some time in the southwest Indian city of Kāncipūra (Xiangzhi guo 香至國), or Conjeveram, located in what is today's area of Andhara Pradesh. Kāncipūra was the area where his mother had come from as well as one of the great Buddhist learning centers of India rivaling Nālandā.

[In Kāncipūra,] an *Avatamsaka* [*sutra*] master discoursed on the "20 forms of the enlightened mind" [and] I [responded and] gave the example of "the one is many and the many are one."

華嚴師廣說 二十種菩提心。吾喻以一即多多即一.[254]

Zhikong was debating with a "master of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (華嚴師)," who discussed "twenty forms of the enlightened mind (*ersh zhong puti xin* 二十種菩提心)."[255] In that debate, he demonstrated his ability to emphasize the essential point of an assertion by bringing up the Huayan concept of interpenetration of all *dharmas* through the phrase "the one is many and the many are one (*yiji duo duo jiyi* 一即多多即)."[256] This is a key concept of Zhikong's thought, and I discuss it in more detail in relation to Yuan-period Chinese Chan and Goryeo Seon in chapters five and six, respectively. This passage illustrates that Zhikong not only knew of and understood the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* but that he also knew how to apply in his practice and teaching the essential point of and key concepts in it. Even this early in his life and travels, Zhikong demonstrated his proselytizing tendency, as well as his will to not be deterred from his mission of teaching and converting others to Buddhism. These would be evident throughout his journey that would eventually take him to Dadu where he would live out the rest of his life.

From the 12th to the 14th century, thus during the time of Zhikong's visit to the area, Kalinga, or Kalingavastu (Jialingjia guo 迦陵伽國), was the capital of Gaipati vans,[257] a tribal state. It had long been the center for a main Buddhist retreat as well as for international trade and commerce.[258] In Kalinga and

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[254] T.2089. 51, 9083b.
[255] Smith asserts that Kashmir, in the northeastern part of the Indian subcontinent and east of Magadha, was a major center for the development of Mahayana thought, and that the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* made its way there. However, there is little evidence that Mahayana thought had become established in the southern part of the subcontinent. See Vincent A. Smith, *The Early History of India: From 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest and Including The Invasion Of Alexander The Great*, 3rd ed, (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 1999).
[256] T.2089. 51, 9083b.
[257] Dantapuram had been the capital of medieval Kalinga, but Waley (1932) erroneously assumed it to be the capital during the time of Zhikong's visit to the region.
[258] Gupta 2006, 590.

near Guifeng Mountain (龜峰山), which is located near the southeastern coast of the Indian subcontinent (to the northwest of the island of Sri Lanka), Zhikong responded to a "Brahmin ascetic (*fanzhi* 梵志)" who asserted that hastening one's death in this life would allow one to be reborn in a better life.

The cultivation of [Buddhist] practice is in the mind; it is not of the body [, so one should] cultivate the laws [of Buddhism] such as the "six perfections" and the "ten grounds of *bodhisattva* practice."

修行在心。何與於身。令修六度十地等法.[259]

This passage as well implies that not only did Zhikong have extensive knowledge but he also had a depth of understanding of the concepts of Buddhism presented in the *Lotus Sūtra* as well as the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*. These concepts include the "six perfections (*liudu* 六度)"[260] and the "ten stages of *bodhisattva* practice (*shidi* 十地)"[261] of Huayan Buddhism. He also had the ability and experience to flexibly apply that knowledge and understanding in each specific encounter that required it in order to fit the context. This means that he understood that being actively engaged in praxis, not merely passively attaining and having wide knowledge, allows for the development of understanding and the potential for realization.

The next encounter occurred after Zhikong spent a "summer retreat season (*jiexia* 結夏)" at Mt. Mārīcī (Molizhi shan 摩利支山),[262] located south of Kāncipūra and near Kalinga.

[Zhikong spent] a summer retreat season on Mt. Mārīcī and [then] went to Sri Lanka. After taking leave from my Master I went down the mountain. An old monk, [who was] the master of Wufeng pagoda, met [me] on the way down. [He] knew of my achievements [and so he] asked me to give a talk on the Dharma. I said a poem for the [Buddha relics in the] pagoda and left.

結夏摩利支山。乃至楞迦國焉 既辭吾師而下山也。無縫塔主老僧. 半路相迓
知吾有得也。請吾演法。吾頌塔而去.[263]

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[259] T.2089. 51, 9083b.
[260] These are charity, morality, forbearance, effort, meditation and, most importantly, wisdom.
[261] Various sets of the tens stages of practice are found in different texts and traditions. The "ten grounds," or *bhūmi*s, of bodhisattva practice that make up the 41st to the 50th stages of Huayan's 52 (or 53) stages of *bodhisattva* practice are arguably the most well-known. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[262] Mārīcī is an Indian goddess that was adopted into the Buddhist pantheon, and came to be the consort of Vairocana, and in this way became associated with the esoteric tradition of Buddhism.
Gupta writes, and assumes that Waley agreed with him, that Kāncipūra was located southwest of Kalinga and that both were in the western part of the Indian subcontinent just north of the beginning of the tip of the continent. However, Heo has Kalinga as being located southwest of Kāncipūra. In addition, Waley and Gupta hold that "*yudi guo* (于地國)" refered to an area in the northern part of Sri Lanka, while Heo has it as being located in the southeastern part of the tip of the Indian subcontinent.
[263] T.2089. 51, 9083b.

This passage is disjointed in terms of time. In fact, the entire section of Yi Saek's text that accounts for the period immediately prior to, during, and after Zhikong's time in Sri Lanka is disjointed. This could be due to his two trips to Sri Lanka interspersed by his encounter, which I discuss immediately following this current passage, with a king that he met after the above exchange with the monk from Wufeng pagoda (Wufeng ta 無縫塔). This encounter is documented in the phrase, "After taking leave from my master" in the passage presented above. The master that Zhikong was referring to is Samantaprabhāsa. In the above passage, Zhikong was discussing an encounter he had after having completed the six months of guidance under Samantaprabhāsa. Even though a brief description of Zhikong's activity during those six months is included in the various versions of Yi Saek's text, along with his dialogue with Samantaprabhāsa at the end of the six-month period, this description is presented in the text prior to Zhikong's arrival in Sri Lanka. Thus, the known versions of this text are disjointed, and thus inconsistent, in terms of their presentation of Zhikong's activity during this period.

Another encounter recorded in this passage occurred after Zhikong descended from Mt. Mārīcī, where he had spent his summer retreat. He then went directly to Sri Lanka to meet and be guided by Samantaprabhāsa. During Zhikong's six-month stay, Samantaprabhāsa was living in Dingyin cloister (Dingyin an 頂音菴) on Mt. Śrīgirī (Jixiang shan 吉祥山) in the mid-southern part of Sri Lanka. After his time under Samantaprabhāsa's tutelage, as Zhikong was going down Mt. Śrīgirī he came upon an old monk at Wufeng pagoda. The monk knew of Zhikong's accomplishments (in his development of understanding) under Samantaprabhāsa. Therefore, he asked Zhikong to give a lecture on Buddhism. After discoursing on the *Dharma*, Zhikong praised the monk's pagoda with a "poem (*song* 頌)"[264] This passage shows that Zhikong had become known in the area for the depth of his understanding of Buddhism while studying under Samantaprabhāsa. It suggests, as was often the case in later accounts of his travels, that he was becoming widely known even before his arrival in areas he had not been to before.

[264] The *gāthā* could have been a song of praise to the Buddha, and/or a poem of commemoration for the pagoda.

The following passage offers an encounter that occurs in the text immediately after the passage discussed above.

[The] king of [the] state of Yudi believed in heterodox ways [and he] saw that I kept the religious precepts against murder, robbery and doing evil and lewd things, [and so] summoned a prostitute to bathe with me. I accepted [this situation, but acted] like a dead man. The king gasped, and said that I was certainly an unusual man.

Those heterodox people made a "Sumeru Mountain man" out of wood and stone [and] on its head and legs [they] erected a mountain [in order] to make offerings of alcohol and food to the mountain. Men and women had sex in front [of the image and mountain, and], calling it "*yinyang* offering." I offered [to them] the principle of "[the world of] men and gods being both delusion and enlightenment" [and] how to destroy [this] evil sect.

于地國主 信外道。以吾有殺盜邪淫之戒。召妓同浴 吾帖然。如亡人。王嘆曰 是必異人也。其外道 以木石作須彌山人。於頭腦腿安立一山。以酒膳祀山。男女合於前。名陰陽供養。吾舉人天迷悟之理。勘破邪宗.[265]

This passage describes Zhikong's recounting of what he did directly after he met with Samantaprabhāsa, on Mt. Śrīgirī in Sri Lanka, for the final time, at the end of the six months of guidance under him. At first reading, at issue is where this encounter took place. Waley[266] guesses that "*Yudi guo* (于地國)" referred to an area in the northern part of Sri Lanka, and that it was at that time under the rule of invaders from southwestern India. Gupta[267] accepts Waley's view and suggests that the king had come to Sri Lanka from southwestern India. However, Heo has it being an independent state, the state of Yudi, which was located in the southeastern part of the tip of the Indian subcontinent, and that this exchange between Zhikong and its king took place on the Indian subcontinent, not in Sri Lanka. Regardless, all do agree that Zhikong went back, for a short time, to the southwest part of the Indian subcontinent after his period of study under Samantaprabhāsa, but then returned to Sri Lanka. However, during his second visit to Sri Lanka, Zhikong went to and stayed in the northern part and not with or near Samantaprabhāsa. Nonetheless, it may not be critical to our understanding of Zhikong to establish whether he met the king and had this encounter in the northern part of Sri Lanka, where the king and his people had invaded, or whether the southeastern part of the Indian subcontinent was the native area of the king and his people.

[265] T.2089. 51, 9083b.
[266] Waley 1932, 363.
[267] Gupta 2006, 590.

Regardless of the assumptions and interpretations made by various researchers as to the specific location, the various copies of this travelogue text are consistent in their affirmation that Zhikong met the king of a people who believed in heterodox teachings. This encounter emphasizes the point that Zhikong showed the king that he had the will to deny the attractions of the *samsaric* world and to continue to follow the most fundamental Buddhist rules; the "five precepts" that include the sanctioning of murder, theft and illicit sex. The people that the king ruled carried out the practice of "*yinyang* offering (*yinyang gongyang* 陰陽供養)," or *Śaktī Pūjā*,[268] as part of their worship of the goddess Śaktī, despite the view of Gupta that the rulers, including the king, were Buddhists.

Another encounter shows that Zhikong bathed with the prostitute offered to him by the king but did not show any interest in having sex with her. This prompted the king to exclaim in admiration how unusual a man he was to have the discipline to be able to turn down such an offer. One of the religious practices of those heterodox people was to make the image of a person out of wood and stone in the shape of Mt. Sumeru,[269] and to place other smaller images on it. Then, they placed offerings of food and wine in front of the image and performed rituals. Couples "performed intercourse (*jiaohe* 交合)" in the ritual area in front of the images. This ritual act was referred to as "*yinyang* offering."

Zhikong's refusal to engage in sex with the prostitute offered to him by the king is a direct example of how Zhikong's soteriological paradigm differed from that of the esoteric school. He saw the practice of meditation and the following of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" as means by which to grow one's "spiritual resonance (*gantong* 感通)," while the soteriological paradigm of tantrism included engaging in sexual practices as a means by which to grow one's "spiritual resonance." Zhikong pointed out to them the principle of "the world (people and heaven) being both delusion and enlightenment (*rentian miwu* 人天迷悟)."[270] implying that the potential for the realization of enlightenment may be

[268] *Śaktī Pūjā* refers to a Hindu ritual that involves generation and worship of the power of the Divine through sexual acts, symbolizing the transgressive nature and purpose of the ritual. It is associated with the Esoteric school of Buddhism.
[269] This is a reference to Mt. Sumeru, the mythical center of the Buddhist universe.
[270] This is associated with the concept of "delusion and reality are the same reality (*miwu yiru* 迷悟一途)," which means that delusion and enlightenment are merely two aspects of the one true reality.

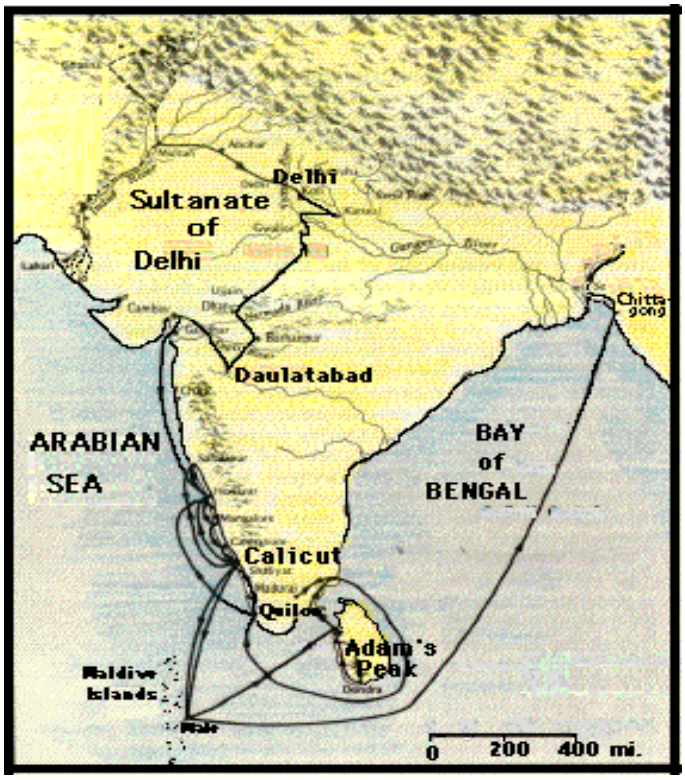
found in any part of worldly actions, and exhorted them to stop participating in this heterodox practice and cult.

This story demonstrates the extent of discipline and will to follow the most fundamental of the Buddhist precepts that Zhikong had achieved in his longtime study and recent realization of enlightenment under the guidance of Samantaprabhāsa, which I discuss later in this chapter. This allowed him to be able to control his emotions and natural tendencies. The implication is that the practices he had been engaging in for so long had allowed him to strengthen his control of these in himself, and that such a demonstration of self-control was sufficient to make others accept that he was one who had realized a high degree of "spiritual resonance" through his "practice of asceticism (*kuxing* 苦行)," [271] and thus respect him and his teachings. Zhikong demonstrated elements of the classic eminent monk ideal. Zhikong left Sri Lanka for the second time, and arrived first in the country of Cholas (Zuoli guo 佐理國). However, before getting to the next part of his journey, I compare the places and activities of route of Battuta with those of the route of Zhikong.

Zhikong the Monk vs. Battuta the Diplomat – Contrasting Depictions of India and Sri Lanka

Samuel Lee[272] writes of the travels through India and to the Yuan by the Moroccan adventurer Ibn Battuta, which took place from 1342-1349 C.E. Thus, his journey occurred less than four decades after Zhikong had traveled from northern India to the Yuan. A brief discussion of relevant parallels and contrasts between the Battuta's travelogue and that of Zhikong by Yi Saek, specifically in content detail, writing style and place names, offers insights into and context to Zhikong's encounters concerning the portion of his travels that he shared with Battuta.

[271] I discuss the importance and historical validation of spiritual resonance and ascetic practice as key elements of a charismatic monk, in the context of East Asian Buddhism, in chapters five and six. See Kieschnick 1997.
[272] Ibn Battuta traveled from Central Asia to China and back from 1325 to 1354. Samuel Lee, trans., *The Travels of Ibn Batutta in the Near East, Asia and Africa: 1325-1354* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2004), 151-221.



Map 3: Ibn Battuta's route through India and Sri Lanka to China

In the early to mid 1340s, Battuta traveled from north to south down the entire western part of the Indian subcontinent. For at least a number of months in about the last part of the first decade or the early part of the second decade of the 14th century, Zhikong had traveled through the same area, but from south to north. Also, both spent time in Sri Lanka. Both had others write about their travels, recounting their experiences to their respective writers long after they had completed their journeys. In 1377, Yi Saek compiled, from existing memorials and the information Minji had received shortly after Zhikong arrived in the Yuan capital in the mid 1320s, the most extensive account. This was decades after Zhikong's journey and even a decade and a half after he had died. Battuta dictated an account of his journeys to Ibn Juzavy shortly after he had returned home to Morocco in 1354. There is no indication that either Zhikong or Battuta had made any notes during their respective journeys, so they probably had to rely on memory for their recounting. Their compilers made use of manuscripts of other travelers, as well as hearsay

evidence and accounts of others, to aid in their writing of the travelogues. Battuta's accounts are rich in detail, both concerning the lengthy descriptions of the places he visited and in the extent of his musings about and analyses of the peoples and cultures he encountered. He seemed to revel in describing in wonder, and more importantly in great detail, the marvels he witnessed, often offering specific numbers of people, merchants and ships in order to convey the extent of cultural interaction and trade that was going on in the places he visited. Zhikong's accounts, in contrast, are so brief and devoid of both content and description that one gets the impression that he was travelling alone and was only in the remotest of regions. It is clear this was not the case. However, by comparing their contrasting accounts of their encounters in some of the regions they both traveled through, it becomes clear that what each of them chose to perceive and leave for posterity was quite different from that of the other. Most important, however, is that a comparison of their descriptions offers context with which to validate the place names Zhikong mentioned, thus validating the existence of the places Zhikong visited, and to better understand Zhikong's encounters that are discussed in detail in this chapter.

While in Delhi in northern India in 1342, Ibn Battuta met the Delhi Sultanate Muhammad bin Tughluq, who asked him to be his ambassador to the Yuan. Battuta then began traveling in his caravan of gifts to the Yuan emperor from Delhi toward Daulatabad to the southwest. On the way, his caravan was attacked by Hindus, and Battuta was separated from his caravan for two days. They stripped, bound and robbed him, and planned to kill him. Battuta referred to this entire northeast region of the Indian subcontinent as Hindustan. He escaped, reconnected to the remnants of his caravan, and arrived at Daulatabad, which he describes being as "not inferior to Delhi."[273] Hindustan included Tridhara (Deliluoer guo 的哩囉兒國) and the Sindh desert, where Zhikong had passed through. Zhikong had also been attacked on the road and taken to a king where he was threatened with death for, due to his being a foreigner and a Buddhist monk, being responsible for the drought. Also in that region, Battuta was offered a slave girl, which he accepted, but Zhikong had refused the offer from a woman to have sex with him.

[273] Ibid., 151-162.

Battuta wrote of vibrant community of Brahmins, Mohammedans and Muslims in the mid-western coastal city of Khambat (or Cambay), in today's Indian state of Gujarat. He marveled at the city filled with foreign traders who lived in fine homes, and recorded that "the greatest part of its inhabitants are foreign merchants."[274] In this area, which Zhikong had designated as Karana (Jialuona guo 迦羅那國), he was given an audience with a king and discussed Hinduism and Buddhism. There were many "believers in heterodox ways," as Zhikong called them, whom Battuta referred to as "infidels," that forced Zhikong to leave the city in the middle of the night over threat of death. I discuss Zhikong's encounters in Karana in more detail later in this chapter.

Battuta emphasized the fact that there were so many foreign merchants, both Muslims and infidels, passing through as well as living in the many large coastal cities in the state of Malabar, which encompassed the entire southwest coast of the Indian subcontinent (from south of the city of Cambay to south of the city of Calicut and to the tip of the subcontinent). It took him an entire two months to sail southward along the coast of Malabar, and in the cities all along the coast he spoke of the multitudes of traders and the huge populations.[275] Battuta's descriptions of peoples contrast greatly with Zhikong's stories that deemphasized the size and peoples in the places he described. According to Battuta, the many foreign merchants living in those coastal cities included Chinese traders, and he recorded that "as far as this place come the ships of China."[276] And, where there were Chinese traders, there was sure to be Chinese monks, as monks had often traveled along with such trading vessel fleets.

From Cambay, Battuta and his reduced caravan went by boat south along the Malabar coast to Kozhikode (Kalikut or Calicut), on the western part of the tip of the subcontinent.

"[Kalikut was] one of the great ports of the district of Malabar, and in which merchants from all parts are found…. Here we waited three months for the season to set sail for China…. [The vessels from China were called] 'junk"… in some of these vessels there will be employed a thousand men, six hundred of these sailors, and four hundred soldiers…. These vessels are no where made except in the city of El Zatiun in China, or Sin Kilan… Every vessel, therefore, is like an independent city. Of such ships as these,

[274] Ibid, 164.
[275] Battuta wrote of the twelve kings in the country of Malabar, "the greatest of whom has about fifty thousand troops at his command; the least, five thousand or thereabouts." As for each of the foreign merchants, "with one merchant, you will see one or two hundred of these [for-hire] carriers [carrying his goods], the merchant himself walking." Ibid., 166-167.
[276] Ibid., 169.

Chinese individuals will sometimes have large numbers; and, generally, Chinese are the richest people in the world."[277]

In many of the cities in Malabar, Moslems lived in their own areas and were respected by the "infidels," referring at least in part to Buddhists. Brahmins as well as Hindus and Mohammedans lived in Calicut. There were merchants, both living and trading there, from many places such as Persia, Yemen and even China, as Calicut was a major port. The Chinese traders were from El Zaitun (Quanzhou 泉州), on the southeastern coast of Fujian province, and from Sin Kilan (Hangzhou 杭州), which was north along the Fujian coast. Battuta referred to the Chinese in Calicut as "the richest people in the world." While Battuta was in Calicut, these many Chinese traders were also waiting for three months for the right season to sail back to China. While waiting, Battuta lost two of his ships in a storm, as did representatives of the Chinese emperor.

> "The missionaries of the King of China were on board another junk, which struck upon the shore also. Some of them were saved and brought to land, and afterwards clothed by the Chinese merchants."[278]

Zhikong had referred to the region around Calicut as the Cholas (*Zuoli guo* 佐理國). Again, due to the prevalence of Chinese traders and, by extension, the quite possible presence of Chinese Buddhism, Zhikong meeting a Buddhist nun there during his discourse on Buddhism with a local king could very well have been a factual occurrence. I discuss this meeting in more detail later in this chapter.

Battuta and his caravan went south to the Maldive Islands, and stayed there for about nine months. It had been Buddhist until the introduction of Islam in 1153. Then they went to Sri Lanka, which was called "Serendib (Happy Accident)" by Arab traders.

While he was in Sri Lanka, Battuta mentioned the prevalence of Chinese pilgrims there to view and pray to Buddha's footprint" at Adam's Peak[279] (Samanalakanda, or "Butterfly Mountain") to view the huge sacred stone footprint. Battuta referred to it as the footprint of Adam, of the Bible. Implied in this designation is the view that travelers from the West associate the footprint from an Occidental perspective.

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[277] Ibid., 172-173.
[278] Ibid., 173.
[279] Ibid., 183-191.

"The King of Ceylon…. said: "Do not be shy; ask for what you wish." I answered: "My only desire in coming to this island was, to visit the blessed foot of our forefather Adam; whom these people call Baba, while they style Eve, Mama"… There are two roads on the mountain leading to the foot (of Adam); the one is known by "the way of Baba," the other, by "the way of Mama," by which they mean Adam and Eve… The holy foot (mark) is in a stone, so that its place is depressed. The length of the impression is eleven spans. The Chinese came here at some former time, and cut out from this stone the place of the great toe, together with the stone about it, and placed it in a temple in the city of Zaitun; and pilgrimages are made to it from the most distant parts of China.[280]

Battuta mentioned that Chinese pilgrims often came there to pay their respects to the footprint, as that of the Buddha. In the footnotes to his travelogue, Battuta made this clear that the Chinese saw this as the Buddha's footprint, despite the fact that in the text itself he referred to it as the footprint of Adam.

Zhikong also visited this site, but like the Chinese pilgrims, had a very different perspective of the footprint. They saw it as the "footprint of the Buddha."

Sri Lanka has [the] "Thus Come One's bowl," "Buddha's footprint," and one alms bowl full of [enough] rice for ten thousand monks. At times, [the] Buddha's footprint emits" radiance." [To] all these [relics], I paid [my] respects.

師子國 有如來缽。佛足跡。一缽飯能飫萬僧。佛跡時放光明。吾皆瞻禮.[281]

Zhikong referred to these Buddhist sites in Sri Lanka and the miraculous stories associated with them. "Thus Come One's bowl (*rulai bo* 如來缽)" was always full of food, or the teachings of Buddhism. The "Buddha's footprint (*fo zuji* 佛足跡)," symbolizing the traces of the teachings of the Buddha, often emitted a "radiance (*guangming* 光明)," symbolizing the external manifestation of functioning wisdom. During his time in Sri Lanka, Zhikong "paid respects (*li* 禮)" to these symbols of Buddhism. The fact that Battuta travelled to Sri Lanka, a common stopping point along a well-travelled route by Occidental as well as Chinese merchants, and that he mentioned the fact that there were often Chinese pilgrims there to pay homage to the "Buddha's footprint," leaves open the possibility that indigenous forms of Chinese Buddhism such as Chan were not unknown in Sri Lanka prior to the time Zhikong was there. This offers support for the possibility that Zhikong might have learned, been introduced to, or at least experienced Chinese Chan during his six months in Sri Lanka. According to the description by Zhikong and discussed

[280] Ibid., 185-190.
[281] T.2089. 51, 9083b.

later in this chapter, while in Karana he used the commonly-known, representative Chinese Chan monk didactic activity of striking people with his Chan staff to help them come to understand his teachings. He could have been introduced to Chinese Chan during his time in Sri Lanka as well as while traveling up the Indian subcontinent.

Zhikong spent his six-month period in Sri Lanka at some time during or shortly after the first decade of the 14th century. The fact that he spent the last decades of his life in Yuan China and Goryeo Korea focusing on spreading the Dharma to members of minoritized groups suggests that his education in Nālandā under Vinayabhadra and in Sri Lanka under Samantaprabhāsa greatly influenced his way of teaching, proselytizing and practicing and his emphasis on inclusion of the laity. During his time studying under Samantaprabhāsa within the religious milieu of Sri Lanka, Zhikong broadened his understanding of an approach to practicing, proselytizing and teaching Buddhism that he had acquired while studying under Vinayabhadra at Nālandā. Evidence of this is demonstrated in the contrast between the wider ways in which Zhikong practices, proselytized and taught after studying in Sri Lanka and the limited ways he did so before that. Revolutionary changes in Sri Lankan Buddhism had begun in the late 1260s, thus just prior to Zhikong's arrival there. These changes included emphasis in the *sangha* on the following of monastic and lay Buddhist precepts, the use of "preaching (*bana*)" texts for education and conversion, and the chanting of selected "protection (*paritta*)" texts. These changes were widely instituted by the late 13th century, and they stressed the importance of reaching people in all levels of society, even those in minoritized or disadvantaged groups.

I discuss these two types of texts in the upcoming section. Descriptions of Zhikong's encounters here in chapter three and in chapter four demonstrate that Zhikong was well-received by minoritized or marginalized peoples, such as the minority peoples of Yunnan and members of the Goryeo Korean expatriate community in the Yuan capital. However, it is not clear how much of an influence Sri Lankan Buddhism had on Zhikong's approach to teaching and practice during his time there. Nonetheless, my discussions of the descriptions of his encounters with various peoples after he left Sri Lanka, during his

traveling throughout the Indian subcontinent and during his life in Yuan China and Goryeo Korea, can offer insight into how he applied his acquired learning to his praxis of teaching and practicing.

The Historical Relationship between Northeast Indian and Sri Lankan Buddhism Informs Zhikong's Buddhism

According to the *Mahāvamsa* (*Great Chronicle*),[282] an early historical record of Sri Lankan kings, a form of Theravada Buddhism was introduced in Sri Lanka in the latter half of the 3rd century B.C.E. by the son of Asoka and the missionary prince, Mahinda. Mahinda also founded the Mahāvihāra Temple in the capital, Anuradhapura. According to the *Nikayasangrahava*, the 14th century history of the Theravada Buddhist *sangha*, the "Great Monastery" (Mahāvihāra) system had for several centuries been the center of Theravada Buddhism in Sri Lanka. This played a key role in the development of Theravada up to the 10th century C.E.[283]

The *Culavamsa*,[284] a later historical record of Sri Lankan kings, states that King Anruddha (c. 1044-1077 C.E.) of Burma, after unifying Upper and Lower Burma, had cordial relations with King Vijayabahu I (1065-1120 C.E.) of Sri Lanka. Anruddha assisted Vijayabahu in the campaigns against the Colas, foreign rulers which had ruled Sri Lanka since 993 C.E. and had devastated Buddhism on the island nation.[285] The Colas had so destabilized Buddhism in Sri Lanka that their defeat left Vijayabahu with only

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[282] The *Great Chronicle* was written in the 6th century C.E. For an English translation, see Wilhelm Geiger and Mabel Haynes Bode, trans., *The Mahavamsa*, or *The Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, edited by H. Frowde (London: Pali Text Society, 1912) (Pali Text Society, London. Translation series no. 3).

[283] The *Nikayasangrahava*, a history of the Theravada Buddhist *sangha*, was compiled in the 14th century by Mahathera Dharmakirti II. For more, see S. Paranavitane, "Mahayanism in Ceylon," *Ceylon Journal of Science* II, section G, pt. 1, (December 1928): 35-71; and Kanai Lal Hazra 1982.

The significant period in the history of Theravada Buddhism and its influence in Burma and Sri Lanka began in the 11th century. King Anruddha (c. 1044-1077) of Burma conquered Thanton because its king refused to send him certain religious texts and relics, and then brought these as well as three *pitakas* and Buddhist monks to Pagan. Thus, Anruddha introduced Theravada Buddhism and its language in lower Burma, Pali, into Pagan in Upper Burma. He then began to suppress all heretical sects of Buddhism and came to establish Theravada Buddhism as the state religion of Burma, with Pagan as its center. With his rule came peace and prosperity in Burma, while Theravada Buddhism in Sri Lanka was suffering withing the context of political instability. See Mabel Bode, ed., *Sasanavamsa* (London, Pali Text Society, 1897): 62-63.

[284] The *Culavamsa* is an historical record of the kings of Sri Lanka from the 4th century C.E. to 1815. It is considered to be a sequel to the *Mahavamsa*. See Wilhelm Geiger, ed., *Culavansa* (London: Pali Text Society, 1980) Ch. LVIII, vv. 8-9; and Hazra 1982, 83-130.

[285] Mon Bokay, "Relations between Ceylon and Burma in the 11th Century A.D.," *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 23, essays Offered to G.H. Luce by his Colleagues and Friends in Honour of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, Volume I: Papers on Asian History, Religion, Languages, Literature, Music, Folklore, and Anthropology. In *JSTOR* (1966): 93-95.

a handful of ordained monks. In 1071 C.E., Anuruddha sent a religious mission of Buddhist monks to Sri Lanka, at the request of Vijayabahu, to aid in the reformation of the *sangha* and to reestablish valid ordination in Sri Lanka. Thus, Buddhism flourished under Vijayabahu.[286]

A form of esotericism in northeastern India called Vajiriyavada was introduced to Sri Lanka during the reign of Sena I (831-851 C.E.).[287] The Vajiriyas seem to have been identical to the Vajrayanists of the Tantric school that flourished in northeastern India, thus near Zhikong's country of Magadha, at the same time.[288] According to the *Culavamsa*, the Brahmanical Cholas moved the capital to Polonnaruva, and looted and destroyed Buddhist establishments throughout Sri Lanka.[289] Both Buddhist and Brahmanical deities are still worshipped in Sri Lanka today.

The Buddhist revival during the Polonnaruva period (993-1293 C.E.) lasted from 1073 to 1214 C.E., after which Prince Magha from Kalinga (southwest of Magadha and near today's Orissa in India) took and occupied Polonnaruva for the next twenty-one years, until 1235 C.E. He decimated Buddhist holdings

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[286] The Cholas were finally defeated in 1070, but their defeat left Vijayabahu with so few ordained monks that he could not hold a quorum of five monks to reestablish valid ordination. In 1071, Anuruddha sent a religious mission of Buddhist monks to Sri Lanka, at the request of Vijayabahu, to aid in the reformation of the sangha. Then, Anuruddha sent twenty senior ordained monks and sacred texts. With this gesture, Vijayabahu was able to reestablish valid ordination in Sri Lanka, and Buddhism flourished under him after that. In return, Anuruddha requested from Vijayabahu the sacred tooth relic of the Buddha. See Geiger 1980, Ch. LX; and Hazra 1982, 86-87.

The following number of kings of Sri Lanka suffered political turmoil. During the reign of Parakamabahu (1153-1186 C.E.), the political relations between Burma and Sri Lanka deteriorated, but the relationship between each country's *sangha* continued on good terms. The reign of Nissamkamalla (1189-1198 C.E.) marks the religious and cultural height of the Pagan kingdom (849-1287 C.E.). The last quarter of the 13th century saw the downfall of Pagan in Burma. The Yuan ruler Kublai Khan sent envoys to Narathihapate (r. 1256-1287 C.E.), king of Pagan, to demand tribute, and captured Pagan in 1287. See Hall 1964, p. 146-147. Nonetheless, the rulers of Upper Burma at Pagan and those of Lower Burma continued to encourage cultural and religious exchanges between Burma and Sri Lanka. See Hazra 1982; and D.G.E. Hall. *A History of South-East Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1964).

[287] The compiler of the *Nikayasangrahava*, a 14th century work presented as a history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, paints a harsh portrait of the early to mid-9th century Sri Lankan ruler Sena I due to his support of Tantrism. This text presents king Sena I in a much more negative light than does the *Culavamsa*, probably due to the fact that king Sena patronized an Indian monk who arrived in Sri Lanka and resided at the Abhayagiri monastery. This monk was a heretic of the Vajraparvata *nikaya* sect, or Vajrayana, which the Indian monks preached to king Sena as a secret doctrine. Thus, it seems that Tantrism, brought to Sri Lanka from eastern India, had a foothold in Sri Lanka by the mid-9th century C.E., and during the mid-9th century was for the first time being systematically integrated with local Buddhist elements in Sri Lanka. See R.A.L.H. Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough: Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1979): 255-256.

[288] Paranavitane 1928, 39; and Hazra 1982, 55.

The conquest by the Cholas in 993 C.E. marked the beginning of the end of the long Anaruddha period (3rd century B.C.E. to 10th century C.E.) in Sri Lanka, and ushered in the establishment of the Polonnaruva period with its capital at Polonnaruva (Pulatthinagara). The Mahāsangha exerted considerable influence in the political sphere until the end of the Anuradhapura period, in 1017 C.E., when the Brahmanical Cholas from south India invaded Sri Lanka. See Syed Jamil Ahmed, "The Ritual of Devol Madua: Problematizing Dharma in the Ethnic Conflicts of Sri Lanka," *NQT* 19:4 (November 2003): 326-346.

[289] The Sinhalese monarch Vijayabahu evicted them in 1073 C.E., and had King Anawrahta of Pagan (southern Myanmar) send monks to perform ordination in order to restore the Sri Lanakan *sangha*. See Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhism in East Asia: An Outline of Buddhism in the History and Cultures of the Peoples of East Asia* (New Delhi, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 1966); and Wilhelm Geiger 1980, 55.

and monasteries, especially the Mahāvihāra and Anauradhapura, and the *sangha*.[290] There was a great revival of Buddhism under Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 C.E.), who reunited all of Sri Lanka.[291] While Theravada Buddhism had disappeared from most parts of mainland India by the 11th century, kings in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia continued to defend Theravada Buddhism in two main ways, for both political and religious reasons. They opposed and prevented doctrinal deviations from orthodoxy, and expelled monks who violated basic monastic laws.[292]

However, by the 12th century, tantrism from northeastern India, with its emphasis on the recitation of *dharani*, had become an important aspect of Sri Lankan Buddhism. Gunawardana[293] presents evidence of an early relationship between Buddhist communities of northeastern India and Sri Lanka. By the end of the period of Pala rule (750 C.E. – 1155 C.E.), the monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramaśīla, and Somapuri, which were the leading monastic-university complexes of Buddhist scholarship, had already been producing the most important thinkers of Tantric Buddhism, or esotericism. The members of a community of monks from Sri Lanka, who probably represented the Mahāvihāra *nikaya* and who were residing at shrines near and at the Buddhist monastery at Buddha Gaya (Bodhgaya)[294] in northeastern India during the latter part of the 8th century and the early part of the 9th century C.E., opposed Mahayana and Tantric practices. However, by the 12th century, Sinhalese (the major ethnic group in Sri Lanka)

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[290] Many monks fled Sri Lanka to south India during this time. No cohesive central authority existed in Sri Lanka from the mid-13th century until 1505 C.E. Buddhism declined, and came to accommodate many Brahmanical rituals and religious practices. In order to safeguard its existence, the monastic community did, as it so often has in times of crisis throughout history in many cultural contexts, cooperated with the state. See Amhed 2003, 328-345.

[291] The Polonnaruwa period had three great benefactors of Buddhism. They were Vijayabahu I (1055-1110 C.E.), Parakramabahu I, and Nissanka Malia (1187-1196 C.E.). Anuradhapura, which was the center of Buddhism and also the political capital, was abandoned after a period of nearly 1500 years, and Polonnaruwa was held for only 300 years. After the devastating rule of Magha of Kalinga (r. 1215-1236 C.E.) which brought nationwide destruction, the Sinhala rulers were forced towards the Central and Southwest regions. See Heinz Bechert, "Theravada Buddhist *Sangha*: Some General Observations on Historical and Political Factors in its Development" *The Journal of Asia Studies* 29, no. 4 (1970): 761-778.

[292] King Vijayuabahu I (1155-1110 C.E.) liberated Sri Lanka from foreign rule. However, because the Sri Lankan Buddhist *sangha* lacked validly ordained monks, he sought to reconstitute and reorganize the *sangha* by introducing an ordination tradition from Burma. The traditional structure of two branches of the *sangha*, "village-dwelling monks (*gamavasin*)," and "forest-dwelling monks (*arannavasin*)" also survived the breakdown, reorganization and renewal of the existing ordination tradition.

The *sangha* survived the restructuring and the introduction of a new ordination tradition from abroad. The traditional division of the *sangha* into three sects (*nikayas*), Mahaviharavasin, Abhayagirivasin, and Jetavanavasin, also survived the reorganization. However, members of the lineages represented one *upasampada* tradition. For more information, see Bechert 1970, 763.

[293] Gunawardana 1979, 245-247.

[294] Bodhgaya, where Siddhārtha Gautama realized enlightenment, is in today's northern Indian state of Bihar.

monks had come to occupy prominent positions in the *sangha* at Buddha Gaya in northeastern India.[295] Roerich[296] notes that when the Tibetan monk Dharmasvamin was in Buddha Gaya sometime between 1234 and 1236 C.E., he reported that there were 300 monks from Sri Lanka there. These studies demonstrate that Sri Lankan monks had come to hold important positions at Buddhist centers throughout but especially in northeastern India from the 8th century onward. Nonetheless, Zhikong not only studied the esoteric tradition at Nālandā, the esoteric tradition was already well-established in Sri Lanka before he arrived there. Zhikong brought the then-current Buddhist traditions of this tradition to Yuan China and Goryeo Korea.

Warder points out that the more popular tradition of Mantrayana, specifically the Naturalist Sahajiya tradition,[297] continued for some time during the 13th century in the northern Indian state of Magadha as well as in other nearby areas in the northeastern Indian subcontinent.[298] Sahajiays believed that only through the guidance and instruction of a religious teacher, not scriptural study, could one acquire Sahajiya meditation. Warder demonstrates how part of the Sahajiya tradition eventually merged with the Savia Tantric tradition, referred to as the Nath cult. In any event, Zhikong had to have known about this tradition in his home country of Magadha.

Bechert[299] demonstrates that magical practices are described in the very popular Sri Lankan book in Pali, *Rasavahini*, written by Vedeha in the early 14th century. Bechert thus supports the view that magical practices of Tantrism had already become a common activity of popular Buddhism in Sri Lanka at least by the end of the 13th century. Therefore, Tantrism and its magical practices had become a part of

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[295] Cunningham discusses an inscription that dates to 1157 and records an endowment made at Buddha Gaya that states that leaders of the Sinhalese *sangha* were responsible for administering the endowment. See Alexander Cunningham, *Mahabodhi: The Great Buddhist Temple Under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya* (W.H. Allen & Co., London, 1892): 78-79.

[296] As already mentioned, this is precisely the time when Nālandā was destroyed. See Roerich 1959, 73-74.

[297] Banerjee refers to Sahajayana or Sahajiay school and the Kalacakrayana or Kalacakra school as the two main branches of the Vajrayana. The Buddhist Sahajiya tradition inherited from the yogic and tantric traditions the view that the truth of wisdom was realized in a state of supreme bliss. Its followers included Buddhists and Brahminists. See Biswanath Banerjee, "Trends in the Development of Buddhism" *Bulletin of Tibetology* 2, Gangtok, Sikkim: Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology. (1997): 14-19; and Ramprasad Mishra, *Sahajayana - A Study of Tantric Buddhism* (South Asia Books, 1992).

[298] Warder also asserts that "the community of monks had been completely rooted out in northeastern India, which came under Muslim rule at the beginning of the 13th century C.E., leaving no competent teachers to guide them." More recent research has proven that Buddhism was in fact not at all entirely rooted out of northeastern India in the 13th century by the Muslim invasion. See A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism* (Naraina, New Delhi: Shri Jainendra Press, 1970), 518.

[299] Bechert 1970.

Buddhism in Zhikong's home state of Magadha as well as in Sri Lanka prior to the time of Zhikong. He was exposed to Tantrism and magical practices in both places. However, while this is demonstrated in the depictions and discussions of his encounters later in this chapter and in chapters four and five, Zhikong's application of esoteric techniques and practices in his proselytization and teaching is much more prevalent after his short period of training in Sri Lanka under Samantaprabhāsa than after his much longer period of more extensive training at Nālandā under Vinayabhadra.

Sri Lankan Buddhism - Appealing to the Laity

According to Warder,[300] the majority of Polonnaruva period (993-1293 C.E.) Buddhist refugees from Magadha went to Southeast Asia, through Burma, and to Tibet. Some went to areas in South India such as Kalinga, Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Vijayanagara. Smith[301] highlights works that show that the role of Mahayana and Mantrayana in the cultural development of Sri Lanka has been underrated, that a widespread Mahayana cult flourished as far back as the 8th century and that Mahayana institutions persisted there, to some extent, into the 15th century.

Late in the 12th century, Sri Lankan king Parakramabahu I enacted reforms to centralize the *sangha* by doing away with the structure of the three *nikayas*. No head of the *sangha* was formally nominated, but an influential monk named Mahākāśyapa acted as the *sangha* leader after he formulated a "rulebook (*katikavata*)" for the *sangha*.[302] This rulebook was enacted not by the *sangha* council, thus not by monks, but by royal decree. The rulebook contains a number of precepts not found in ancient monastic code texts, and some of these precepts even contradicted canonical law. Nonetheless, the monks accepted rulebook as their fundamental moral guide. This acceptance contributed to the establishment of a dual structure in the historical development of the Theravada *sangha* in Sri Lanka. A new, more modern organizational structure was thus superimposed onto the existing one prescribed by the *sangha*.

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[300] Warder 1970, 514-518.
[301] Bardwell L. Smith, "The Polonnaruva Period (ca. 993-1293 A.D.): A Thematic Bibliographical Essay," in *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Sri Lanka*, ed. Bardwell L. Smith (Chambersberg, PA, Conococheague Associates, Inc., 1978), 118-154.
[302] The Sri Lankan *katikavata* was edited and translated by Nandasena Ratnapala, "*The Katikavatas, Laws of the Buddhist Order of Ceylon from the 12th Century to the 18th Century*" (PhD diss. Munchen: Goettingen, 1971); and Nandasena Ratnapala, *The Katikavatas* (Munich: R. Kitzinger, 1971).

In the new organizational structure, the *sangha* was able to deal with contingencies that had not existed during the time of the codification of the *vinaya*. By the beginning of the 13th century, the Sri Lankan *sangha* had become the leader in the preservation of Sri Lankan literature and culture, as well as the education of the youth. The indigenous class of literati was still a relatively weak group in relation to others within society, especially the *sangha*. The *sangha* had also by this time begun to offer religious benefits to the laity, via "protection (*boliduo* 波栗多, *paritta*)" texts and *paritta* recitation rituals. This involved absorbing the non-canonical belief of the transmission of religious merit to the deceased. On the basis of this incorporation, monks began to participate in funerals and received gifts for doing so. This further deepened the involvement of the *sangha* in the secular and social life of the laity.

My study of Zhikong's encounters during his travels throughout the Indian subcontinent demonstrates not only the existence of a variety of expressions of "indigenized" forms of Buddhism but also his creative methods of contending with individuals and peoples of various thought forms mixed with Buddhist elements. These encounters show that Zhikong constantly applied his extensive education that included the study of various heterodox thought forms, and made use of the opportunities he had to expound on the teachings of Buddhism, make converts and attract disciples. They also show that he emphasized the following of precepts, or rules, often using himself as a model of how to act and what choices to make in situations that demanded making ethical decisions.

"Preaching (*Bana*)" Texts

Mahinda Deegalle[303] discusses the development and role of a distinctive style of Theravada Buddhist "preaching (*bana*)" in Sri Lanka that gained prominence in the 13th century C.E. Through the use of "preaching (holy) texts (*banapot*), traveling and proselytizing monks were able to systematize their living on alms from the laity by appealing to their concerns while perpetuating & spreading the *Dharma* among

[303] Mahinda Deegalle, "Buddhist Preaching and Sinhala Religious Rhetoric: Medieval Buddhist Methods to Popularize Theravada" *Numen* 44, Koninklijke Brill, Leiden (1997): 180-210.

them. Buddhist preaching in late medieval (13th to 15th century C.E.) Sri Lanka "was a turning point both in terms of doctrinal developments and in the changing geographical shape of Buddhism."[304]

Deggalle[305] describes the six "preaching" texts on Theravada popular preaching as focusing on the lifestyles of ordinary lay people. The Sinhala Buddhist tradition is based on the Theravada orthodoxy of Pali texts for inspiration. Sinhala Buddhists used narratives to teach and popularize Buddhist doctrines among the laity and to convert people. One of the six "preaching texts" is the *Garland of Offerings* (*Pujavaliya*), which was compiled between 1266 and 1275 by Mayurapada Buddhaputra Thera. Like the others, it is a text on religious instruction. The author mentions eight types of people who would benefit the most from reading or listening to someone chant this text, as it was composed "for virtuous people… to make it possible for them to cultivate faith and wisdom for a long time and thereby to enable them to attain three states of happiness (human, divine, and *nibbanic*)".[306] This text presents detailed information about the people for whom preaching texts were produced.[307] The lowest type of people, those "pious men and women in remote provinces," had few opportunities to be exposed to Buddhist teachings. In specifically and directly including and thus appealing to this type of people (namely those who were not Buddhists) as among those the text was written for, the author was explicitly emphasizing the desire to not only include the laity but to expand the reach of the appeal to the non-Buddhists.

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[304] The influence of the "preaching texts" highlighted a renewal of popular religiosity among Buddhists that involved a process of localization of the preaching of the Theravada Buddhist tradition in local centers within Sri Lanka. However, this process of localization did not necessarily deny or negate the international concerns of spreading the *Dharma*. The exchanges between Sri Lankan and Pagan courts in the 13th century attest to this. For more, see Deggalle 1997, 181; and Luis O. Gomez, "Buddhism in India," in *Buddhism and Asian History*, ed. Joseph E. Kitagawa and Mark D. Cummings (New York, Macmillian Publishing Co., 1989): 94-95.

Within a hundred year period, six important Sinhala Buddhist prose texts were written, and are known collectively as "preaching (holy) texts (*banapot*)." The Sri Lankan term "*bana*" in the Buddhist context refers to devotional activity of giving Buddhist sermons. Degalle asserts that it is "an educational method (of sermon-giving) in traditional communities and a tool in converting human hearts in a variety of different religious communities" that encompasses the four interrelated devotional activities of preaching that are giving religious instruction, rhythmic reading of a religious text in public, reading a religious text aloud and giving explanations of its content, and narrating *Jataka* stories. See Deggalle 1997, 182.

[305] Ibid., 193. In the texts, all types of traditional allusions are employed to justify the value of taking refuge in the Buddha. When a text is read rhythmically, it attracts the attention of the listeners. Most narratives were directed to the religious practices that were relevant to the laity and common to their experience. The writers chose particular yet common themes such as anger, stealing, jealousy, lying, and sexual misconduct, in narrating these stories.

[306] Kiraille Nanavimala, *Pujavaliya* (Colombo, M.D. Gunasena and Co., 1965), 13.

[307] The eight types of people are; kings (who are intoxicated with prosperity and have little time for Buddhism); noble women, noble chiefs such as the king's ministers, and elder monks (who are diligent in protecting the Law and have received noble posts); meditators (who purify precepts through the practice of insight meditation); eloquent preachers (who have learned many discourses and preaching styles, and who need to produce commentaries and expositions); and pious men and women in remote provinces (who do not have the opportunity to meet any virtuous person). See Deggalle 1997, 189-191.

After leaving Sri Lanka, Zhikong applied in his own proselytizing the distinctive style of teaching in Sri Lanka that had gained prominence in the 13th century that involved traveling and proselytizing monks living on alms from the laity by appealing to their concerns through the use of specific texts. Descriptions of Zhikong's encounters in later in this chapter and in chapter four demonstrate that while journeying throughout the Indian subcontinent and in Yuan China he saw giving Buddhist sermons based on texts as a devotional activity, and was able to devise and utilize creative methods to convert people to Buddhism and to teach. Primary sources record him as most often trying to appeal and proselytize to, and convert to Buddhism, minoritized or disadvantaged peoples. These were precisely those "pious men and women in remote provinces," as well as those who suffered in situations beyond their control due to natural disasters such as floods or droughts. The extent and importance of his relationship with members of the Goryeo Korean expatriate community in the Yuan capital, which contrasted with his relatively limited interaction with the majority Han Chinese and the ruling Mongols, demonstrate his concern for proselytizing among minoritized peoples.

"Protection (*Paritta*)" Texts and the Utility of Magic

In addition to chanting "preaching texts," as one of the most common forms of ritual practice in Sri Lanka in the late 13th century C.E., monks chanted selected texts, called "protection (*paritta*)" texts, from the Theravada Buddhist canon, to protect the listeners and themselves from harm. In Pali, "*paritta*" is from the verb root meaning "to protect." In the Buddhist context, "*paritta*" texts are those with protective and auspicious properties. In this context, "*paritta*" refers to the practice of reciting certain verses and Buddhist texts in order to ward off evil fortune or dangerous conditions, as well as to the specific verses and discourses recited as *paritta* texts.

Blackburn[308] discusses two key points concerning monastic practice concerning *paritta*. First, monks chose to appropriate *paritta* texts and make the chanting of them central to their practice and their interaction with the laity, in order augment the formation of monastic identity and to make genealogical claims. Second, *paritta* texts were used outside the area of ritual in order to guide novice monks in developing and deepening their understanding of monastic life and to train them in it. Blackburn also asserts that at two points in the history of Sri Lankan Buddhism, in the 13th and the 18th centuries C.E., particular monastic lineages during these times of strong monastic competition appropriated *paritta* texts in two ways. First, the practice of *paritta* is identified as compatible with an ideal ascetic monasticism. Second, *paritta* text recitation was used to create advantageous genealogies. An aspiration to envision, develop and live a life of ideal ascetic monasticism and the application of *paritta* text recitation are also two key aspects of Zhikong's praxis. These contributed to his desire and ability to live the life of an ideal ascetic and to use the methodology and purposes of *paritta* text recitation to aid him in his teaching and proselytization throughout his life.

In addition, Blackburn asserts that Sri Lankan monastic leaders in the 13th century chose texts for *paritta* recitation and promoted them into the practical Buddhist canon[309] through written commentaries. Thus, these texts formed the basis of a program used to train novice monks. One of the most important of these texts was the *Book of Protection* (*Pirit Potha*).[310] Concerning this text, in her groundbreaking study

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[308] Anne M. Blackburn, "Magic in the Monastery: Textual Practice and Monastic Identity in Sri Lanka" *History of Religions* 38, no. 4 (1999b): 354-372; and Anne M. Blackburn, "Looking for the Vinaya: Monastic Discipline in the Practical Canons of the Theravada" *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 22, no. 2 (1999): 281-309.

[309] The "practical canon of the Theravada tradition" is defined as the collection of texts in use at a particular place and time, and in this case these are Sri Lanka in the 13th century. See Blackburn 1999a.

[310] The *Book of Protection* (*Pirit Potha* in Sinhalese) has the lesser known title, *Catubhanavara* (in Sinhalese, *Satara Banavara*, meaning "collection of sermons or discourses"). It is an anthology of 24 selected discourses on protection by the Buddha compiled by his followers, as an introductory text for novices who were to use it to grasp key concepts in order to be prepared to study and understand the more advanced "*Discourse Collection*" (*Sutta Pitaka*). The dating of the compilation of this text in Sri Lanka is not clear, but it was probably compiled in the late 12th or early 13th century. However, a well-known commentary on it is dated in the 13th century C.E.

The *Book of Protection* includes a variety of texts, arranged in this order; the invitation, five preparatory texts on the sayings of the Buddha, twenty-four discourse texts (*suttas*), and two appendices texts. The "*Collection of Essential Meanings*" (*Saratthasamuccuya*) comments on twenty-one of the discourse texts.

A 13th century C.E. commentary to the *Book of Protection* that was written in Pali by a pupil of the venerable Rajaguru Vanaratana of Sri Lanka, is available under the title *Catubhanavara Atthakatha* or *Sarattha Samuccaya*. Prior to the twenty-four discourses, there is a section in this text entitled "Invitation." It is on how to prepare, or "invite," oneself to the reading of the twenty-four discourses. In this section, the predominance of the value of protection is clear, as the following phrase is to be repeated three times:

of *paritta*, Lily de Silva[311] affirms that the recitation of *paritta* texts represents a form of accommodation to the desires and needs of the laity. The Buddhist *sangha* came to accept this practice, and to justify within its philosophical perspective, thereby allowing and validating magical practices in order to protect people from the harm of life's crises. My descriptions and discussions of Zhikong's encounters later in this chapter and the following two chapters, especially concerning his use of magical phrases to protect others (never himself) from harm, suggests that his lifelong emphasis on adherence to precepts of the *vinaya* did not limit his application of magical practices for an emergent situation if the outcome could be the promotion and spreading of the *Dharma*. These descriptions and discussions illustrate the extent he went to appeal to the laity and accommodate their needs in order to inform, teach, proselytize and spread the *Dharma*.

Spiro[312] argues that *paritta* recitation originated in a response by Theravada Buddhism to the need for nonsoteriological goals to be accepted as a legitimate part of Buddhist practice in order to help the lay masses cope with the problems of suffering in this world. The distinction between the doctrinal position of the monks and the secular orientation of those who merely undergo lay ordination can be mitigated by *paritta* text recitation and participation in *paritta* ceremony. In this and the following two chapters, descriptions and discussions of a variety of Zhikong's encounters with peoples throughout the Indian subcontinent and in East Asia demonstrate that he also tried to find and use ways for the laity to participate in Buddhism.

That from misfortune I may be free
That all good luck should come to me
And also from sickness to be free
Chant "The Protection" I invite thee.
See Piyadassi Bhikkhu, trans., *The Book of Protection* (Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, 1981). (transcribed by Dana Murty and Gabriel Jivasattha Bittar. The Buddhist Publication Society, 1999. Accessed in March 2010: http://www.accesstoinsight.org/lib/authors/piyadassi/protection.html#book)

[311] On the one hand, monks and "intelligent laymen" believe that reflecting on the meaning of the *paritta* texts while chanting them will effectively help one follow the ethical guidelines in the texts, because the power of the texts is in the positive mental states that can be achieved by focusing on them. On the other hand, the masses require that "elements of current folk magical practices are absorbed into the *paritta* ceremony." See De Silva 1981, 31.

[312] Melford E. Spiro, *Buddhism and Society: A Great Tradition and Its Burmese Vicissitudes* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982).

Gombrich[313] distinguishes between two interpretations of *paritta* chanting done by Sri Lankan Buddhists. First, the laity regards *paritta* as a means of bringing good fortune or avoiding misfortune. Therefore, they view participating in *paritta* text recitation or ceremony as an orthodox Buddhist ritual for the acquisition of "this-worldly benefits (*xianshi liyi* 現世利益)."[314] Second, for the sponsors and audience of the text chanting, the chanting is efficacious insofar as they are led to virtuous intentions by the messages in the texts. Gombrich writes that the sponsors see the recitation of the texts as having a spiritual application to them while the simple laity perceives it as a form of magic. In both cases, one purpose of the ritual is to make them feel as though the messages in the text are for them. Zhikong understood and saw the utility of making use of both perspectives. He utilized "*mantras* (*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼, *dhāranī*)," "poetic verses (*jie* 偈)," and "mystical invocations (*zhou* 咒)" for the purpose of creating the "this-worldly benefits." In this sense, he used them as forms of "mini *paritta* texts" in order to bring fortune or avoid misfortune on behalf of others. He directly associated the spiritual application of these to the worldly benefits that (appear to have) occurred. Therefore, he did not enact practices that engendered "magical" results merely for the sake of performing magic. In addition, Zhikong's encounters show that he directly applied these "mini *paritta* texts" to in order to generate virtuous intentions and acts. The descriptions and discussions of Zhikong's encounters demonstrate that his ulterior purpose of enacting chants, invocations and *mantras* was most importantly to excite and promote the devotional interest of those he hoped to help. In other words, the benefits he enabled those he performed magic for to acquire was not without an obvious purpose, which was to demonstrate his "spiritual resonance" as well as to convert them.

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[313] Richard Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism (*London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988), 148; and Blackburn 1999b, 359.
[314] In the East Asian context, "this-worldly benefits" refers to the use of objects, texts, ritual practices, and doctrines as both the means by which practical benefits in this world are sought and the affirmation of the seeking of those benefits. Correct performance of ritual contributes to the efficacy of the ritual, and this is important in producing the desired efficacious result. See S.J. Tambiah, *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of the Amulets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); and Ian Reader and George J. Tanabe, *Practically Religious: Worldly Benefits and the Common Religions of Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988).

Blackburn[315] also asserts that scholarly and meditative monks of the Theravada tradition in Sri Lanka did not learn and chant *paritta* texts merely because the unreflective masses expected them to do so in order to receive magical protection. Blackburn's research demonstrates that Sri Lankan monks, especially during periods in which they engaged in monastic purification (specifically in the 13th and 18th centuries), systematically tried to "identify themselves with the practice of *paritta* and to use *paritta* texts for specifically monastic purposes."[316] On this point, Zhikong was in Sri Lanka shortly after the initiation of this monastic purification, in the late 13th century, and it had to have been a part of his education under Samantaprabhāsa. My translations and discussions of Zhikong's encounters demonstrate his use of "*mantras*" "poetic verses" and "mystical invocations," as forms of "mini *paritta* texts" to assist those in dire situations, as well as to teach Buddhist principles. More importantly, Zhikong did this in Yuan China and Goryeo Korea at a time when Buddhist sects and particular monastic lineages were engaged in monastic competition with each other as well as with other thought forms, including Lamaism and a growing Neo-Confucianism, merely in order to survive. In his thought, teaching, and proselytization, Zhikong utilized "mini *paritta* texts," the following of precepts, the study and discussion of scriptures, and the practice of meditation in order to appeal to those who identified with an ideal monastic asceticism. His approach was particularly effective in attracting members of the Goryeo expatriate community and Goryeo Buddhist monks in the Yuan capital.

The first detailed reference to the place of *paritta* in monastic education in Sri Lanka in the later part of the 13th century appears in a text on monastic regulation called the *Dambadeni Katikavata*, which is found in a "code of disciplinary rules (*katikavata*)" presented in 1266-1267 C.E..[317] Zhikong was in Sri

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[315] Blackburn 1999a, 281-309.

[316] Sri Lankan monks during the periods of monastic purification 13th and 18th centuries used commentaries on the *paritta* to make *paritta* recitation a more important part of both monastic discourse and monastic practice. See Blackburn 1999b, 354-372.

[317] This late 13th century C.E. text on monastic regulation, the *Dambadeni Katikavata*, is directly associated with the aforementioned late 12th or early 13th century C.E. *Book of Protection*, or *Catubhanavara* ("collection of sermons or discourses") and its 13th century C.E. commentary entitled *Catubhanavara Atthakatha* or *Sarattha Samuccaya*. Both of these texts were a product of the process of self-spiritual purification of the *sangha*. Just as Zhikong emphasized the primacy of the precepts as a fundamental aspect of his thought and practice, these texts on monastic regulation also re-emphasized the primacy of reliance on precepts or rules to purify and rejuvenate the Sri Lankan Buddhist *sangha*.

The purification was led by the monastic chief of the *sangha* named Medhamkara, and it involved the monks of the forest-dwelling lineages asserting their right to leadership of the *sangha* on the basis of their more virtuous conduct than that of the city-dwelling lineages. Thus, at this time of reorganization of the *sangha* at the direction of the state, the forest-dwelling lineages

Lanka about four decades from the beginning of this period of purification, and thus after it had become widespread and instituted. *Paritta* became the key to the linking of Buddhist learning, scholarly asceticism, forest-dwelling monasticism, and protection from harm. The specific application of *paritta* texts was to not only make the *sangha* more relevant to the lives of the lay Buddhist community and thus offer members more reason to remain in the community, especially within the context of competing religions or thought forms. Descriptions and discussions of a variety of Zhikoing's encounters throughout the Indian subcontinent and in East Asia, after he completed his training in Sri Lanka, demonstrate that he was well aware of the value of enacting appropriate virtuous monastic conduct. Emphasizing the following of precepts in his relations not only with non-Buddhists and members of the laity but also the other monks would serve Zhikong well in spreading his version of Buddhism.

Combining Meditation and Mindfulness with Comportment

One subtext in the *Book of Protection* discusses the comportment of a monk that expresses his internal state and level of practice. It is the *Reflections* (*Paccavekkhana*)[318] subtext. The *Reflections* subtext and its commentary discuss how a monk should reflect on aspects of his life; specifically his robe, alms bowl and food, lodging, and medicine. All four reflections begin with the phrase, "Wisely reflecting, I…," and continue with a description of the mindset with which a monk is to modestly and without ego accept these four givens with humility. By doing so, he develops "mindfulness (*nian* 念)."[319] Essentially, the internal activity of mindfulness, through meditative concentration on the specific, external foci, is expressed by the external activity of comportment, and the precepts of the *vinaya* describe ways to grow mindfulness

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asserted their allegiance to royal patrons, and with that were successful in convincing the state of the right of their lineages to lead the *sangha*. The forest-dwelling lineages were also successful in having the *Dambadeni Katikavata* authorized as the text that defined and regulated appropriate monastic conduct for the entire Sri Lankan *sangha*, as well as the text appropriate for *paritta* recitation. The commentaries on this text shaped the novices' interaction with and understanding of *paritta* recitation by offering an interpretive context by presenting the text offering a gradual and systematic introduction to monastic discipline as practice toward and of liberation.

[318] The *Reflections* (*Paccavekkhana*) subtext is the fifth of the five preparatory subtexts on the sayings of the Buddha that occur between the *Introduction* and the *Twenty-four Discourses* sections of the *Book of Protection* text. This subtext in the *Book of Protection* is also translated into English as *The Four-fold Reflections of a Monk*. See Piyadassi 1981.

[319] The monk is expected to continue to develop and extend his mindfulness through meditative concentration on more personal objects of focus in his own body, including body-hairs, nails, teeth, skin, sinews, kidneys, heart, feces, bile, phlegm, pus, urine, and the brain. This is done through the study and recitation of the fourth of the five of the five preparatory texts on the sayings of the Buddha, the *Thirty-two Parts of the Body* (*Dvatimsakara*) subtext.

and, by extension, grow comportment. For example, the unique ways monks dress, feed themselves, procure food, find and use lodgings, and use medicine become the foci of meditative reflection. They are not merely matters of external comportment. They are external foci of "meditative reflection (*ding* 定)," which engenders mindfulness, which in turn develops external comportment. External comportment is the outer expression of the (the depth of) one's inner mindfulness. Primary sources record numerous accounts of *paritta* recitation.[320]

From the 12th to the mid-13th century, Sri Lankan monks of the forest-dwelling lineages actively chose to attempt to create a more symbiotic relationship between *paritta* and desirable, authoritative monastic comportment. Systematic and scholarly commentaries identified *paritta* with this authoritative monasticism, by making *paritta* an object of interpretive attention. In doing so, they valorized *paritta* as a mark of learned monastic identity. By 1270 C.E., the corpus of *paritta* texts and commentaries on them became a didactic tool for novice monks and monk socialization.[321] These commentaries altered, and thus became the basis of, a renewed spiritual purification and rejuvenation of Sri Lankan Buddhist monastic education.

So, after a long period of dissolution and limited effectiveness of the *sangha* in the lives of most people in the nation, a new emphasis on rules, or precepts, came to be developed and instituted prior to

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[320] The first of the *Twenty-four Discourses* in the *Book of Protection* is called the *Exposition on the Ten Elements* (*Dasadhammasutta*). It offers the ten essential foci that a monk must continuously and wisely reflect on. Thus, it is an aid to prevent the novice monk from regressing on the path of mental cultivation, by offering ten ways to prevent him from generating unskillful mental states. The monk is to constantly keep in mind the ten statements that comprise the discourse. He is challenged to carefully and continuously investigate the state of his internal and external conduct. The *Exposition on the Ten Elements* (*Dasadhammasutta*) discourse text is also translated into English as *Discourse of the Ten Dhammas*. See Piyadassi 1981.

Here are the ten statements that make up the discourse. "I have a different appearance [than a layman]. My life is dependent on others. I should conduct myself differently [than a layman does]. Is there not censure in my own mind regarding my conduct? Do wise people who know me criticize my conduct? I will be separated from those dear to me. I am my own *karma*, am an heir to *karma*, a source of *karma*, [and] a receptacle for *karma*. The *karma* I do, good and bad, I will inherit it. How do I spend my days and nights? Do I delight in an empty place? Have I reached a distinction of proper knowledge and vision? In the end, questioned by ascetics, will I not be flustered?" See Blackburn 1999b, 369-370.

In addition, the *Culavamsa*, the history of royal and monastic activities during the medieval period in Sri Lanka, contains numerous accounts of *paritta* recitation performed by monks who had royal patronage. See Geiger 1980, Ch. 87, 3-9; Ch. 99, 14-26; and Ch. 100, 274-275.

[321] There was at that time (1270 C.E.) in the Sri Lankan Buddhist community an explicit, systematic and comprehensive connection between *paritta* recitation, early Pali commentaries on individual *paritta* texts, new Pali commentaries on the collective corpus of *paritta* texts in Sri Lanka, and desirable monastic practice. In both the 13th and 18th century monastic purification campaigns, the commentaries on twenty-one of the texts in the *paritta* collection chosen by monastic leaders of the forest-dwelling lineages "transformed the *paritta* texts themselves into evocative and specific guidelines for the formation of distinctive monastic behaviors: disciplined comportment, scholarly inquiry, and meditation." See Blackburn 1999b, 362-365.

Zhikong's study in Sri Lanka under Samantaprabhāsa. This is important because, as I discuss in chapter five, Zhikong was in the Yuan precisely at a time of disruption of the entire Chinese Buddhist *sangha*. It was going through a period of dissociation and disruption due to factors of Mongol rule such as the elevation in status of Lamaism as the de-facto state religion and the growing rise and influence of Neo-Confucianism. Even Daoism and other religions enjoyed an elevated status due to their relative acceptance by the Mongols vis-à-vis the former Han Chinese-led dynasties. Thus, Mongol rule contributed to the heightened status of these religions vis-à-vis that of the pre-Yuan established Buddhist schools and sects, mainly the Chan school. I demonstrate in chapters five and six that there is a fundamental reason why Zhikong, with his emphasis on the "truth of the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" was so successful in the expatriate Goryeo population in the Yuan capital and not so successful in the Han Chinese population, specifically the Chinese Buddhist *sangha*. This was because of the differing emphasis on rules or precepts among members of these different religious populations. In the following section, I continue following Zhikong's journey, beginning with his six months in Sri Lanka under the guidance of Samantaprabhasa.

Zhikong's Education and Enlightenment in Sri Lanka under Samantaprabhāsa

Sometime late in the first decade of the 14th century, in the spring and at the age of nineteen, Zhikong traveled to Sri Lanka at the behest of Vinayabhadra, his teacher at Nālandā, to study under a new teacher, named Samantaprabhāsa (*Puming zun* 普明尊, Honorable Puming, Buddhist name Manduopidi 曼多毘提).[322] However, while the name Puming is recorded in the Chinese language epitaphs, the "learning genealogy (*xuede xipu* 學的系譜)" of Samantaprabhāsa is not recorded in any of the known epitaphs. Also not mentioned in the epitaphs is Mt. Śrīgirī (*Jixiang shan* 吉祥山) on Sri Lanka, the place where

[322] Heo (1997, 24) suggests that Puming's name in Sanskrit, which was Samantaprabhāsa (Universal Splendor), refers to the general name of each of the 500 *arhats* that will reappear as individuals in our world as a Buddha, according to Buddhist legend. Heo cites the copy of Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong that Lee Neunghwa had access to (which was not the copy version that is in the *Taisho Edition of the Buddhist Canon*) and states that it was at Dingyin cloister (頂音菴) on Mt. Śrīgirī (Jixiang, Auspicious Mountain) in Sri Lanka that Zhikong first met Samantaprabhāsa.

Zhikong meditated, and studied under and was evaluated by Samantaprabhāsa. However, the names Puming and Mt. Śrīgirī are recorded, as shown in the passage below, in the *Chanyao lu Preface*.

[The] Indian [Zhikong] arrived at the dwelling place of Honorable Puming [on] Jixiang Mountain [in] southern India, [who] secretly transmitted the "mind-seal" [to him as] the 108th patriarch. Observing the source of this lineage since Kāśyapa, the 22nd patriarch, Honorable Manorhita, "transmitted his mind," [and] of those he transmitted [his] mind [to] there are two; one is Honorable Haklena [whose] transmission goes until Bodhidharma. The second [lineage branch] is the Honorable Zuotuojuna [whose] transmission [lineage] goes until the 107th patriarch, Manduopidi, [who] is Honorable Puming of Jixiang Mountain.

至南天竺吉祥山 普明尊者住處 密傳心印 爲西天第一百八祖矣. 觀其源派自迦葉 至二十二祖摩拏羅尊者 傳其心者有二 一曰鶴勒那尊者 傳至菩提達摩. 二曰左陀瞿那尊者 傳至第一百七祖 三曼多毘提尊者, 是則吉祥山普明尊者也.[323]

According to this passage, Zhikong received the secret transmission of the "mind-seal (*xinyin* 心印, *citta-mudrā*)"[324] from his teacher Samantaprabhāsa on Mt. Śrīgirī in Sri Lanka, and this teacher is the 107th patriarch of the Chan school. Thus, Zhikong became the 108th generation patriarch of the Chan school after Samantaprabhāsa. Zhikong "realized awareness (*guan* 觀, *vipaśyanā*)" through the guidance and "mind transmission (*chuanxin* 傳心)" of Samantaprabhāsa. The traditionally accepted Chan lineage goes back to the founder of the lineage, the 1st Chan patriarch Kāśyapa (*Jiashe* 迦葉).[325] Bodhidharma (*Puti damo* 菩提達摩) is the 28th generation Chan patriarch from India, and is the one who introduced the Chan tradition to China.

More importantly, according to this passage recorded in the *Chanyao lu*, there is a difference between the traditionally-accepted version of the Chan lineage from the 1st patriarch Kāśyapa to the 28th patriarch Bodhidharma and the "supplementary biographical lineage" (*liupai biezhuan* 流派別傳)" version from the 1st patriarch Kāśyapa to the 107th patriarch Samantaprabhāsa and the 108th generation patriarch

[323] Minji, *Important Points on the Mind Passed Down by Buddhist Patriarchs of the Indian Sects*.
[324] The "mind-seal" is the certification of assurance that one has realized the "truth of the reality of things," conferred upon a student by the one who certifies this transmission of realization. It is referred to as "*Dharma* transmission," as opposed to "transmission of order." The "mind-seal" transmission signifies the direct approach of Chan.
[325] Kāśyapa, or Mahākāśyapa, was one of the main disciples of Sākyamuni. He convened and directed the First Council. His special power was discipline, and he is regarded as the first patriarch of Chan Buddhism. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

Zhikong. The difference occurs with and at the point of the 22nd generation Chan patriarch, the Honorable Manorhita (*Monaluo* 摩拏羅).[326]

The traditionally-accepted Chan lineage and the "supplementary biographical lineage" are unchanged up to the 22nd generation Chan patriarch Manorhita. According to the traditionally-accepted Chan lineage, Honorable Haklena (*Helena* 鶴勒那)[327] is the 23rd patriarch, and Ārasimha (*Shizi* 師子) is the 24th patriarch. However, according to the "supplementary biographical lineage" recorded in this passage from the *Chanyao lu*, Minji asserted that Manoirhita had also conferred Zuotuojuna (左陀瞿那)[328] as the 23rd patriarch of an auxiliary Chan lineage of transmission. Zuotuojuna also received transmission of the "mind seal" from Manoirhita. Thus, after Manoirhita, there are two strains of the Chan lineage that are traced back to Kāśyapa. Therefore, the lineage through Zuotuojuna that carries on up to Samantaprabhāsa and then to Zhikong is to be seen as having been transmitted through Manoirhita and then Zuotuojuna, and therefore not through the traditionally accepted Chan lineage transmission of Manoirhita then Haklena and then Ārasimha.

On the other hand, Henrik Sorensen[329] merely mentions that he supports the theory that the non-orthodox Chan lineage of Zhikong, through Manoirhita and then Zuotuojuna, was fabricated. However, he does not offer any support for his view that it is a fabrication, nor why this lineage was fabricated. However, Hyungwoo Kim[330] does cite the above translated passage from the *Chanyao lu* and also believes that this non-orthodox lineage is a fabrication. He asserts that the fabrication was a product of the desire of Zhikong's student, Naong, to consolidate his political position in the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* after he returned to Goryeo from Yuan China, after receiving transmission from both Zhikong and the

[326] Manorhita, or Manorhata, was an Indian prince and is generally referred to as the 22rd patriarch of the Chan school. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[327] Haklena, or Padmaratna, is generally referred to as the 23rd patriarch of the Chan school. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[328] Zuotuojuna in not among the list of those generally considered to be the initial "28 Buddhist patriarchs" of the ordhodox Chan school lineage of transmission that begins with Kāśyapa and ends with Bodhidharma, who introduced Chan to China. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[329] Sorensen 1986, 86.
[330] Hyungwoo Kim 1984, 6.

Linji sect. Naong felt that he had to disassociate himself from the orthodox Goryeo Seon Order and its lineage through Jinul. He saw transmission in Zhikong's non-orthodox lineage system as an opportunity to augment his status within the Goryeo *sangha*. Receiving transmission in a Chan lineage from someone from India and that could be traced all the way back to the 1st patriarch Kāśyapa validated his auspicious position within a lineage that was separate from that of Jinul as well as the orthodox Goryeo Imje Seon (Linji Chan) lineage. Therefore, with this pedigree, he could (and did) forward his political agenda within the Goryeo political as well as Jogye Seon Order *sangha*.

I deal with this important issue of what determines a "legitimate" transmission in the Goryeo Buddhist context in chapter six, on Zhikong and his influence on Korean Buddhism. That chapter focuses on the rationalization of Naong's approach, by application of the groundwork supporting the research on lineage transmission by Jiang Wu,[331] who points out the utility, valorization, and widespread usage of various means to establish legitimacy of transmission.

> Master [Samantaprabhāsa] asked [Zhikong]: "On arriving [here] from Central India, how many steps did you take?" I could not answer [so] withdrew to a stone cave [and] meditated for six months. After all I realized illumination and desired to stand up [but my] two feet were attached to each other. The king of that country summoned [a] doctor [who] gave [me] some drugs. [I] recovered [and] announced to [my] master, saying: "Two feet are one step." My master gave me a bowl and robe, laid his hand on [my] head and said: "Coming down the mountain in one step is a lion. Two-hundred and forty-three [of my] disciples obtained the *Dharma*, but [they] have had little effect on sentient beings! You [must] propagate my teachings. Go and do it!" [Master] gave [me] the name Sunyadisaya, or Zhikong in Chinese.

> 師曰。從中竺抵此。步可數否。吾不能答。退坐石洞六閱月。吾乃悟. 欲起。
> 兩腳相貼。其王召醫圭藥。立愈. 告吾師曰。兩腳是一步。吾師以衣缽付之。
> 摩頂記曰。下山一步便是師子兒. 我座下 得法出身二百四十三人。
> 於眾生皆少因緣。汝其廣吾化。其往懋哉. 號之曰蘇那的沙野。華言指空.[332]

This passage summarizes Zhikong's interaction with Samantaprabhāsa, who was the teacher that Vinayabhadra, Zhikong's teacher at Nālandā, had sent him to Sri Lanka to study under. Neither the *Chanyao lu* nor the available epitaphs offers a clear explanation as to why Vinayabhadra sent Zhikong to study under Samantaprabhāsa in Sri Lanka. Also absent is any overt description of the teaching Zhikong

[331] Wu 2002.
[332] T.2089. 51, 9083a-b.

received under Samantaprabhāsa. The type of teaching is implied in the two recorded exchanges that they had; one before and the other after the six-month period that Zhikong spent practicing meditation in a cave in Sri Lanka under Samantaprabhāsa's guidance.

Zhikong could not give an answer to Samantaprabhāsa's question, on the number of steps he had taken to get to Sri Lanka, when they first met. This implies that Vinayabhadra had been correct in sending Zhikong to Sri Lanka, because despite Zhikong's extensive study under him at Nālandā, Zhikong needed to deepen his understanding and practice of Buddhism, and especially his experience of meditative concentration, under Samantaprabhāsa. With his educational background at Nālandā, Zhikong had merely only been prepared to engage in the practice of meditation under Samantaprabhāsa's guidance.

After six months of the physically difficult activity of sitting meditation, Zhikong did realize "sudden illumination (*wu* 悟)" but had physically suffered in the process and required medical attention. After receiving this and recovering physically, he met and gave his response, "Two feet are one step," to the question that Samantaprabhāsa had asked him six months before, at their initial meeting. Samantaprabhāsa took this response as an indication of the validity of Zhikong's experience of illumination, or realization of awakening. He then conferred upon Zhikong validation of this experience of illumination as well as acceptance of him as his student through the symbolic act of touching his head and giving his the symbols of transmission; the bowl, robe and his new monastic name. He then directed Zhikong to carry on his lineage by teaching Buddhism and guiding others to the realization of illumination.

On another level, Samantaprabhāsa's initial question to Zhikong when they first met, Zhikong's belated response after six month of meditation, and the symbols of transmission all invoke classic metaphors in Buddhism and thus deeper meanings for this passage. For example, Heo[333] suggests an acceptable implication of Samantaprabhāsa's cryptic question as to the number of steps Zhikong took to arrive in Sri Lanka. It is that in the context of his Buddhist education under Vinayabhadra,

[333] Heo 1997, 20.

Samantaprabhāsa asked Zhikong about how he had received and had been shaped by his education thus far, and how he would apply it in the future against the heterodox teachings outside Buddhism.

It is impossible to count, and more importantly, useless to know, the uncountable number of steps from his home country to Sri Lanka, just as it is impossible to even attempt to try to know everything about the uncountable number of *dharmas*, things and events, in the conventional world of suffering. That Zhikong could not answer the question immediately suggests that he was still "stuck" at the level of conventional understanding and interrelation. The soteriological "goal" of the individual is the enactment of the praxis of the aforementioned "three practices." Through the practice of following the precepts while in meditative concentration, knowledge is acquired and understanding is deepened. Upon the experience of the simultaneity of the "three practices," wisdom is realized. As well, this simultaneity of the "three practices" is the realization of illumination, or awakening. However, in the initial meeting, Zhikong was not ready. He had not experienced realization. Therefore, he could not prove that which he had not realized. He merely understood intellectually that the goal is not the mere acquisition of knowledge, or as alluded to in this passage, the number of "steps" of knowledge. Zhikong had learned enough in his prior studies under Vinayabhadra at Nālandā to know that he could not offer any acceptable response to the question right then, so he was silent, and offered no discernable response. This exchange was a Chan school-like, "*Dharma* test (*fa juyang* 法擧揚)" or "encounter dialogue" (*jiyuan wenda* 機緣文答)" exchange. Samantaprabhāsa gave Zhikong a "public case (*gongan* 公案)," which was the cryptic question that Zhikong would have as his focus of meditative concentration. It was also the practice-as-education that he would engage in under Samantaprabhāsa. By engaging in meditative contemplation on Samantaprabhāsa's question on his own in a cave, away from the desires and distractions of the conventional world, Zhikong would apply his acquired knowledge of Buddhism to this focus of his contemplation.

Six months later, and having had an experience of sudden realization, Zhikong met Samantaprabhāsa again to respond to his initial question. The "explanation" of his sudden realization comes in the form of

the statement of his two legs feeling as one. On a superficial level, it simply refers to the extent to which Zhikong had given up concern for his body during his six-month period of intense meditation, so much so that it was as if he could not move his legs and rise, in order to continue the meditative contemplation in, most likely, the sitting meditation position. On a more fundamental level, Zhikong's "explanation" is his reply to the initial question Samantaprabhāsa asked him about the number of steps when they first met. His response invokes his understanding of what Samantaprabhāsa was referring to in that question; that one should ignore all the *dharmas* and their changes in the conventional world, and not even consider as fundamental the duality (two legs) of conventional thinking; namely phenomena (form) vs. principle (emptiness). One should instead know and act with the realization that the fundamental foundation of the one principle is always constant; it never changes. The many "steps" in the process of his education had allowed him to have the knowledge and understanding to be receptive to the experience of realization of the "one true (and only) step" of "sudden realization" of awakening, and the wisdom that it engenders.

Samantaprabhāsa validated Zhikong's experience of sudden realization and his "explanation" of it by giving Zhikong the bowl and robe to symbolize confirmation of this validation under him. Zhikong had experienced sudden realization through meditative contemplation. Presenting himself to his followers, as someone who had experienced realization, would be the highest form of teaching he would impart on followers and his disciples in his career. The implication of the complete exchange between Zhikong and Samantaprabhāsa over a six-month period is that Zhikong's meditative contemplation guidance under Samantaprabhāsa was the last, thus highest, form of "teaching" he would receive from him, or anyone. This was what Zhikong needed in order to then be able to leave his teacher, or "go down the mountain," as a "lion," meaning to go into the conventional world as a *bodhisattva* in order to continue on his own path of propagating the Buddhist teachings, converting other sentient beings, and helping them realize illumination. The following passage introduces Zhikong's final exchange with his mentor, Samantaprabhāsa.

I thanked [my] master [for his] kindness with a "Buddhist verse." [I] said to the crowd: "Advance, then there is expansive emptiness; backslide, then there is submersion in all *dharmas*." [Zhikong then] let out a great shout.

吾以偈謝師恩已 語眾曰。進則虛空廓落。退則萬法俱沈. 大喝一聲.[334]

In this passage, Zhikong thanked Samantaprabhāsa for his guidance in a traditional way, with a "Buddhist verse (*ji* 偈)."[335] Zhikong then uttered a statement contrasting the emptiness of wisdom with the danger of "backsliding (*tuiqu* 退屈)," or retrogressing in one's practice, if one does not continue in the right practice, especially after his realization of illumination, or the wisdom of emptiness. This statement shows that he understood that he must continue to enact the wisdom of emptiness that he had just realized, by continuing the practice of meditative concentration. Implied in this passage is the key aspect and recurrent theme of Zhikong's praxis. It is that the initial learning of and enacting the precepts while simultaneously practicing meditative concentration is the preparatory step in the process toward ultimate realization. Upon having the experience of realization, which includes the internalization of precepts into one's actions, one is to continue the praxis of simultaneously enacting "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" while engaging in meditative concentration. Otherwise, there is the threat of continuing to be mired in perpetual transmigration. This is backsliding, or returning to the false perception that he had had prior to the realization of illumination; that true reality is a thing or object to find in the secular or material world of conventional thought, rather than the truth inherent in his being to realize.

The statement to Samantaprabhāsa in the passage above was Zhikong's "proof" or demonstration to his teacher that he had come to understand what he had been taught, and that through meditative concentration on this understanding he had realized the "empty wisdom" of enlightenment. The statement implies that Zhikong understood that the soteriological paradigm of praxis of a monk is a lifelong activity. What he had also come to understand was that the aspiration to realize enlightenment, the enactment of the "three practices" toward that realization, the actual experience of realization, and the continued enactment, or cultivation, of the "three practices" after realization, all include the lifelong activity of a *bodhisattva*; to aid all sentient beings in the world to realize enlightenment.

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[334] T.2089. 51, 9083b.
[335] This refers to a *gāthā*, (*jisong* 偈頌), and could in this instance be as simple as stating "Praise Buddha."

The following passage is Zhikong's final exchange with Samantaprabhāsa.

Pu[ming] had observed the four directions [and] knew the eastern region. There could be opportunity for change [there, so I] should [go] eastward.

普觀四方 知東方 有可化之機 決意向東.[336]

In this passage, it is clear that Samantaprabhāsa (Puming) saw for Zhikong a future of spreading the various Buddhist teachings to transform others, and so suggested that he go to the east. Also, this final exchange between Zhikong and Samantaprabhāsa is not recorded in any of the epitaphs. It is only found here in the *Chanyao lu Preface*, so it could be a reflection of Minji's augmentation to Zhikong's image. Nonetheless, this reference to the importance of proselytizing is a recurring theme throughout the epitaphs and *Chanyao lu* concerning Zhikong. Like the Buddha and his message to all his disciples and future monks, spreading the *Dharma* must be a major aspect of Zhikong's education and life's work. In this and the following chapter I present descriptions of many of Zhikong's interactions with peoples depicting him doing precisely that during his subsequent travels throughout the Indian subcontinent, Yuan China and Goryeo Korea.

The descriptions of these interactions accentuate Zhikong's understanding of the all-inclusive praxis that the realization of enlightenment engenders, as well as his acceptance of the responsibility to spread his enlightened wisdom to people for their benefit. Actually, Heo suggests that being the last Buddhist missionary from Nālandā to go to East Asia may have been Zhikong's destiny. It had been foretold before he was born, as implied in the following passage.

My parents prayed to the "Great benevolent-ruling spirit of the east," and then I was born.

吾父母禱于東方大威德神 而生吾.[337]

In this passage, it was due to his parents' prayers to the "Great benevolent-ruling spirit of the east (Dongfeng Daweida shen 東方大威德神)"[338] that Zhikong was born. Kieschnick[339] writes that an

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[336] Minji, *Preface to Important Points on the Mind Passed Down by Buddhist Patriarchs of the Indian Sects*.
[337] T.2089. 51, 9083a.
[338] It is not clear whether this god refers to Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka (大威德金剛), the Ferocious King of Mantras and Great Intimidating Righteousness, who is the central figure in a text attributed to Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空). As already mentioned, Amoghavajra is one of the three Indian masters that introduced the esoteric tradition to China. "Yamā" is the name of the god of

auspicious birth is a common theme in the aforementioned eminent monk biographies. However, Heo posits that Zhikong did not realize until later in life that he should go to the east. I contend that Zhikong may have known from a very early age that he would travel to the east, and also that he knew that the area that he would eventually go to was the Yunnan region. There is textual support to the view that he may have been able to speak the language of at least one of the many minority peoples in Yunnan, as mentioned in chapter two. There is also circumstantial evidence that Zhikong knew much about the Yunnan area and that he may have known that he would in the future travel to that area as a representative of Magadha. This is because historically there had been a centuries-long history of royal and economic exchanges between Yunnan and Magadha before and during the time of Zhikong. I discuss this issue of Magadha's relationship with Yunnan in more detail in chapter four.

As already mentioned, the flow of Indian monks into China had almost stopped altogether in by the early 12th century during the Song dynasties, due to the upheaval in the Buddhist *sangha* on the Indian subcontinent from the rise of Tantrism and the spread of Islam. Indian Buddhism was no longer the source of the renovation of Chinese Buddhist culture. Yuming Duan[340] discusses not only the lack of Buddhist exchanges between the Yuan and India, and the dearth of research on this relationship, but also the lack of primary source materials. In addition, he points out the prevalence of errors in the extant sources pertaining to Zhikong. Duan refers to Zhikong as the last senior Buddhist monk from India to settle in China. More relevant to this dissertation is Duan's perspective on two of the three viewpoints concerning the extent of Zhikong's Buddhism; namely esotericism and his study of Chinese Chan (the third being the southern transmission of Buddhism). Duan asserts that Zhikong's initial training was in Indian esotericism, but his years of study and practice of types of Chinese meditation, most significantly the three years in Sichuan and the up to seven years in Yunnan, may have provided him with the

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death, and "*antaka*" means "terminator," so Yamāntaka is the "terminator of death." Yamāntaka is also one of five great guardian kings of the Vajrayana tradition. He is also known as Vajrabhairava, and is a wrathful, buffalo-headed meditational deity that came to be seen as seen as a wrathful manifestation of Mañjuśrī, the Buddha of wisdom. See Bukong (不空, Amoghavajra). *Method for Recitation and Establishing Supernatural Effects through Sacred Yamāntaka, the Indignant King* (聖閻曼德迦威怒王立成大神驗念誦法) (T 1214.21.76a12).

[339] Kieschnick 1997.

[340] Duan 2007.

experiences to learn and adopt the features and appearance of being a Chinese-style Chan monk. This would serve him well during the rest of his life in Yuan China and Goryeo Korea, in terms of gaining disciples and proselytizing. Duan asserts that the years Zhikong spent in Yunnan was the period during which he studied, practiced and internalized Chinese Chan Buddhism. After that, Chan was a part of his teaching and practice for the rest of his life.

Adding to this, I assert that due to the relatively limited primary source information on Zhikong, the lack of research on him, and most importantly, the fact that almost all of the primary sources were written in East Asia (and specifically mainly through the perspective of Goryeo-period Buddhism as well as by late Goryeo -period Confucians who were not rigidly anti-Buddhist), that the Indian esoteric or tantric aspects of his initial learning, proselytizing and teaching have been deemphasized and overshadowed by the Chinese Chan- or Korean Seon-influenced perspective in the existing primary sources that have been researched. In other words, much of what we know about Zhikong from the existing primary sources presents an East Asian bias. Nonetheless, as already discussed in relation to the areas of travel that Zhikong shared with Ibn Battuta, it is possible that Zhikong may have been introduced to Chinese Chan in Sri Lanka or in the southwestern and western parts of the Indian subcontinent, even earlier than during his arrival and three-year stay in Sichuan.

In the following final section in this chapter and chapter four, evidence of his understanding and application of a wide range of knowledge concerning Buddhism, including chan as well as tantric techniques, is demonstrated through examples of his application of this wide knowledge in his interactions with people he met during his travels throughout the Indian subcontinent as well as in Yuan China and Goryeo Korea.

Zhikong Begins his Calling to Go to the East and Spread the Dharma – Journeying Through the Indian Subcontinent to Yuan China

In this section, I discuss Zhikong's journey from Sri Lanka and through the entire periphery of the Indian subcontinent, as well as Tibet, before arriving in Yuan China. Map 2 should be used to follow the

portion of Zhikong's route I discuss in this section. More can be gleaned about Zhikong's early education in Magadha and at Nālandā under Vinayabhadra, as well as in Sri Lanka under Samantaprabhāsa, through an examination of Zhikong's methods and tactics in his application of Buddhism, and the conversations and activities he engaged in during his interactions with the people he encountered in this journey. Zhikong attempted to convert many of the people he met to Buddhism as he developed his own understanding and practice. Zhikong's encounters during his travels to Sri Lanka and then from there throughout the Indian subcontinent offer glimpses into the forms of Buddhism that continued to exist in various locations there during the first decade of the 14th century.[341]

Zhikong's journey from Nālandā to Sri Lanka had not been as dangerous as his journey through the western and northern portion of the Indian subcontinent would be. The reason, pertinent to this study, is that Buddhism, with varying degrees of indigenization to thought forms of local cultures, continued to exist in the small countries throughout the entire eastern side of the Indian subcontinent. In the first decade of the 14th century, when Zhikong traveled through India, many small "emirates (*tuhuo guo* 土候國)" maintained Buddhism. However, it was Buddhism influenced by Hinduism and Islam, as Hinduism rose in status vis-à-vis Buddhism due in part to the "Islamization" of northeast India that began prior to the 13th century. In the southwestern and northwestern parts of the Indian subcontinent (today's Myanmar and Malay and the western Indian desert region), as well as Tibet, Zhikong encountered peoples who were less receptive to his efforts to turn them to Buddhism and, thus, some of the encounters proved to be dangerous for him. This indicates that the influence of Buddhism seems to have been weakest among the peoples in the southwestern region of the Indian subcontinent.

The first country mentioned in Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong after he left Sri Lanka is Cholas (*Zuoli guo* 佐理國), today's Coromandel coast, located at the southernmost tip of the Indian subcontinent.

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[341] Buddhism existed in various forms as well as areas throughout India during the 13th century, even after the destruction of the Nālandā university-temple complex in the early decades of the 13th century. See Smith 1958, 201-203.

[The] Cholas ruler believed in Buddhism. I explained [it in] a "poetic verse." [The] king replied with a "poetic verse" [so] I returned a "poetic verse." [The] king distributed a number of pearls [and] during [the] assembly [he] presented the "poetic verse" about the elephant-king passing through the eye of a needle.

佐理國主 信佛。吾以偈白之。王答以偈。吾復偈之。王施以珍珠數枚.
會中有針眼中象王過之頌.[342]

In this passage we see that Zhikong, in the country of Cholas, exchanged two "poetic verses (*ji* 偈)"[343] with one by the king, who was a Buddhist. This exchange is reminiscent of a "*Dharma* test (*fa juyang* 法擧揚)," [344] a method of the Chan school of demonstrating the living truth directly by either an exchange of exchange of words, questions and answers, gestures or responses between a master and a student. One key difference between this and a "Chan encounter dialogue (*Chan wenda* 禪問答)" is that while both are forms of discussion between a master and a disciple, a "*Dharma* test" could be public while a "Chan encounter dialogue" is private. The exchange here is public rather than private and so appears to be for a didactic purpose; to teach those in attendance at the assembly as well as for the king, who in this case adopted the role of a student.

Heo[345] points out that the king responded to Zhikong's two "poetic verses" with an "exclamatory shout (*he* 喝)," transliterated in Korean Hangeul as "*gal* 갈." In the Buddhist context, an "exclamatory shout" is associated with Linji Chan (Imje Seon) sect teaching methods and is still used today by instructors to shock students into awakening. The king's use of this in his dialogue with Zhikong implies that the king was not only well-versed in Buddhism, perhaps specifically Chan, but that his understanding of Buddhism was equal to that of Zhikong. This suggests that that area of southern India was still strongly Buddhist at the time Zhikong was there, and that Chan may have existed or at least been known there.

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[342] T.2089. 51, 0983a.
[343] A "poetic verse (*jisong* 偈頌, *gāthā*)" is the Sanskrit term for poetic verse or hymn of a Buddhist scripture, and here it refers to the verbal exchange of such verses. In Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong text in the *Buddhist Canon*, it is written as "poetic verse" in all three instances.
[344] A "*Dharma* test" later came to be referred to as a "Chan encounter dialogue." However, the "Chan encounter dialogue" is a private discussion between a master and a disciple involve either questions and intuitive responses or exchanges of passages from "public case" Chan literature. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[345] Heo 1997.

As additional evidence of the king's level of understanding, the symbolism of the king distributing pearls to those in attendance at the assembly is reminiscent of the well-known Buddhist "pearl in the garment (*yizhu* 衣珠)"[346] metaphor, which is that a starving man possesses a pearl in his garment yet is unaware of it. The meaning is that all men inherently possess "Buddha-nature" that is realizable, through faith in and practice of Buddhism, even if most are not aware of the fact that it is inherent in them.

Also, the *gāthā* presented by the king is the well-known Hindu parable concerning the value of having faith despite great odds, which is represented by Krisna passing elephants through the eye of a needle. In this passage, the Cholas king is referring to the importance of having the will to continue to have faith that one can eventually experience, through the realization of enlightenment, the truth of the reality (of the inherent emptiness) of all things. One is to also have faith, despite having setbacks in trying to do a most difficult task, that realization of the truth of the reality of things is achievable. This is represented in classical Buddhism by the realization of enlightenment after years of renunciation and great effort by the "Lord of Elephants (*xiangwang* 象王, Gajapati)," a term also used to refer to Śākyamuni prior to becoming the Buddha.

The king presented this story as an acknowledgment that Zhikong had done something very difficult, which is that Zhikong had not only learned Buddhist teachings but had come to understand how to apply them. This accentuates that Zhikong was well-versed in classic Buddhist verses and their application. In addition, the reference to the elephant-king story represents the king's acknowledgment of Zhikong having experienced the realization of enlightenment, as had Śākyamuni, who in doing so realized that he was the Buddha. The king's depth of understanding of Buddhism is thus depicted in his ability to perceive the quality of Zhikong's understanding, depth of practice and spiritual attainment.

However, Heo[347] cites a different copied version of Yi Saek's 1377 travelogue than the one found in the *Buddhist Canon*. This copied version contains an addition to this passage that is not found in the copied version found in the Taisho edition of the *Buddhist Canon*. Concerning this specific passage, the

[346] The "pearl in the garment" metaphor is one of the seven key metaphors mentioned in various chapters of the *Lotus Sutra*.
[347] Heo 1997, 352-358.

addition is shown in italics in the excerpt below. The addition to the passage and its translation are written in italics.

[The] Cholas ruler believed in Buddhism. I explained a "*poetic verse*" [to him]. The king replied with a "poetic verse" [so] I returned a "poetic verse." [The] king distributed a number of pearls. *In the middle of the assembled crowd there was a Buddhist nun [who] asked a question saying:"Who is between the master and the disciples?" I let out a shout [and the] nun realized "great enlightenment*." During the assembly there was the "poetic verse" about the elephant-king passing through the eye of a needle.

佐理國主 信佛。吾以偈白之。王答以*喝*。吾復偈之。王施以珍珠數枚. *會中有尼越眾問曰彼師此弟 中間是　. 吾一喝 尼大悟*. 會中有針眼中象王過之頌.[348]

In this passage, the discussion about the elephant-king passing through the eye of the needle involves a "Buddhist nun（*biqiuni* 比丘尼)," who offered her comment on the exchanges of verses between the king and Zhikong. She asked Zhikong who it was between the teacher, Zhikong, and the attending disciples or students. The obvious answer is that it was her. Rather than give that concrete answer, Zhikong instead let out an "exclamatory shout" as his response, and subsequently the nun suddenly realized "great (sudden) enlightenment (*dawu* 大悟)."

In Zhikong's exchange with the nun, evidence of a strong Buddhist influence in the Cholas region is again demonstrated by the presence of both a nun and a king knowledgeable about Buddhism and the quality of their interaction with Zhikong. The exchange between Zhikong and the nun implies that the juxtaposition of roles that is confusing to the nun is not logical. She said that it was not clear who the teacher was and who the disciples were. This appears absurd, within the context, as it was obvious that Zhikong was the teacher.

On another level, the juxtaposition of teacher and student symbolizes the non-differentiation of subject and object, and her realization of this was her experience of great and sudden enlightenment. Through this experience, reminiscent of descriptions of the realization of "sudden enlightenment" in the Chan tradition, she realized the truth of the reality of (the essential nature of) things. She also realized that the mind of conventional logic is not the "True Mind." She appears to have realized enlightenment through the

[348] Yi Saek, *Zhikong's Buddhist Stupa Stone Inscription*.

acceptance of this truth. This experience invokes an aforementioned key concept of the thought of Zhikong. It is "the one is the many without obstruction (*yiji duo* 一卽多)." This suggests that any form of expression of non-discursive reality, even one such as a sudden shout during a "Chan encounter dialogue," might provide the impetus to shock or awaken one to the realization of enlightenment. It also suggests that realization, as it is neither based on logic nor reliant on conditioned existence, could nonetheless be experienced through any form of activity of conditioned existence, be it logic or a form of non-discursive reality such as an "exclamatory shout."

Zhikong's exchange with the Buddhist nun is recorded in the copied version of the text of Zhikong's travelogue that Neunghwa Lee and Sangno Kwon had access to in the early 20th century. The exchange in this copied version clearly implies the influence of Chan in the country of Cholas. The absence of this exchange in one version and not in another could suggest a possible scenario, which I discuss in more detail in chapter five, that Chan may not have existed in the Cholas state. The rationale for this position is that the earliest version of the text was compiled by Minji soon after Zhikong arrived at the Yuan capital the second time, in 1326. Heo[349] cites from the later version of the text that includes the exchange with the nun, and thus implies that Chan did exist in the state of Cholas. As already mentioned, we know from the travel record of Ibn Battuta that there were very many Chinese merchants, with their fleets of huge ships, both trading as well as living in cosmopolitan port cities all along the southern tip and along the entire western side of the Indian subcontinent. Therefore, forms of Chinese Buddhism including Chan, as well as Buddhist nuns, may very well have existed in these cities when Zhikong was there. More research is required to ascertain the extent of the Chinese and the Chinese Buddhist communities in the cities along the southwestern coast of the Indian subcontinent. However, as we see in this passage, and in other encounters discussed later in this and in the following chapter, that Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong's does record a number of references to Chinese Chan. Further research is required to more definitively ascertain whether they reflect Zhikong's actual encounters, the created memories of Zhikong when

[349] Heo 1997.

recounting his encounters to his disciples and sponsors, or the intent of those Confucian scholar-officials, to downplay the extent of Buddhism's influence, who compiled or copied primary source materials on Zhikong long after he arrived in the Yuan as well as long after he passed away.

As I also discuss in chapter five, the Chinese Chan school was the main school of Buddhism, other than Tibetan Buddhism, during the latter half of the Yuan. In addition, the Mongol ruling family was engaged in infighting that was destructive to their rule, and so the Yuan was becoming more and more unstable during the latter half of the dynasty. This offered Han Chinese-led institutions such as the Chan Buddhist school and its sects opportunities to begin the process of regaining lost land, temples and prestige. In this context, the inclusion of this exchange between Zhikong and a Buddhist nun in a later copied version of the travelogue, suggesting the existence of Chinese Chan in the southernmost part of the Indian subcontinent during the first decades of the 14th century, could have been the choice of a pro-Buddhist text copier to augment the growing reestablishment of the Chan school in China. He could do so by inserting such a passage that suggested the existence of Chan in that part of India decades before. The fact that direct references to the Chan school or its practices are indeed found in the earliest version of Zhikong's travelogue lends support to the theory that Chinese Chan may indeed have existed when Zhikong was there.

As Zhikong began at the southern tip of the Indian subcontinent and made his way northward up the west coast, he confronted peoples who followed Hinduism, Islam or heterodox systems that were much less accepting of his attempts to teach, discuss or proselytize Buddhism. He avoided areas and peoples that did not follow Buddhism, such as in Malay (Maliye guo 麼哩耶國), but did engage in discourses on Buddhism in areas where the people were ambivalent or flexible concerning their religious beliefs, such as in Drāvati (Duoluofu guo 哆囉縛國), or Dvāravatī. The following passage illustrates the religious beliefs of the people he met there.

[In] Drāvati, all were believers in either orthodox or heterodox [teachings]. [While I was] sitting and discoursing on Buddhism, a nun came to accept [my teachings].

哆囉縛國正邪俱信。吾據座下語 有尼默契.[350]

In this passage, Zhikong points out that the people of the country of Drāvati,[351] which extended from the southern coastal region to half way up the coastal western half of the Indian subcontinent, were all believers in some form of religious system. More specifically, he observed that Buddhist nuns could be found even this far south of the birthplace of Buddhism. However, as depicted in the following passage below, the situation was very different just to the north of Drāvati, in the country of Karana (Jialuona guo 迦羅那國), today's Mysore region.

[In] Karana, the people believed in heterodox ways. Its king was very happy to meet me. [However,] even though I introduced the chapter on king Maheśvara, the *Sutra of the Great Stately Virtuous Merits of the Treasure King* in *The Buddhist Canon*. [The] king said: "There are more true teachings [of Buddhism] outside [my country's] teachings." [Because the believers in] heterodox ways wanted to kill me, I left the city in the middle of the night….

I expounded on the *Dharma* [so they] could be aware of [their] evil [views]. Those who were attendants [of mine] were speechless [so I] gave them twenty strikes with [my] "Chan staff," and [they] subsequently "awakened."

迦羅那國亦信外道. 其王見吾喜誇甚. 吾示以示以大莊嚴功德寶王經
摩醯莎羅王因地品。王曰。法外更有正法. 外道欲害吾。吾即出城 日已黑…
吾所說法 能知否。侍者無語。痛行二十棒 乃悟.[352]

The country of Karana, or Karna, existed in the mid-western part of the Indian subcontinent. This was probably Kannar, or the Kannara region,[353] which historically existed in southern India. There, Zhikong discoursed on Maheśvara,[354] the Hindu god Shiva, and on the origin of the universe and Shiva's conversion to Buddhism, from the *Sutra of the Great Stately Virtuous Merits of the Treasure King*.[355] He discoursed on the *Dharma* and made his attendants see the errors of hold their heterodox views. However,

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[350] T.2089. 51, 0983b.
[351] Zhikong could have been in the city of Dvāravatīpūra, the capital of the Hoyśala Dynasty, which existed from 1026-1343 C.E.
[352] T.2089. 51, 0983b.
[353] The Kannara region was located in Mysore, which is a city in the Indian state of Karnataka today. See Gupta 2006, 591.
[354] Maheśvara (Moxishouluo 魔醯首羅, or Da zizai tian 大自在天) is the Hindu god Shiva, who created and rules the present world. See Boung-Wook Lee (이병욱), "A Study on the Character of Zhikong's Chan Buddhism (指空和尙 禪사상의 특색)," In *Research Journal on Three Masters of Zen-Buddhism: Ji-Gong, Na-Ong and Moo-Hak* (삼대화상 연구 논문집: 지공·나옹·무학 화상 Samdae hwasang yon'gu nonmunjip: Chigong, Naong, Muhak Hwasang), ed. Hungsik Heo (Pulgyong Sodang Hunmunhoe, Korea, 1996), 15-50.
[355] The Maheśvara chapter in the *Sutra of the Great Stately Virtuous Merits of the Treasure King* (大莊嚴功德寶王經 *Da zhuangyan gongde baowang jing*) discusses the time when king Maheśvara was in training to become a god. This is the context in which Zhikong discussed this chapter with the king of Karana.

they could not respond to his lesson, so then he struck them with his "Chan staff (*bang* 棒)." With this, they were "awakened (*wu* 悟)."

The passage above implies that various belief systems existed under the king's rule, possibly even with his approval or at least permission. Some of those with views that differed from those of the king were influential to the extent that they were able to force Zhikong, the king's guest, to leave suddenly in the middle of the night under the threat of death. This flexible perspective on the part of the king and the plurality of views among his subjects appeared to allow groups in the country to be able to follow belief systems of their choosing. It appears that Buddhism in that area had become indigenized, as there were more "true" teachings of it outside that country. Also, the political situation was not stable, as there were those that felt so threatened by Zhikong and his views on Buddhism that they were willing to try to do him harm. This shows that Zhikong was willing to continue to promote and disseminate his teachings even in the face of obvious and known danger to him. In addition, this passage exists in different copied versions of the travelogue text. That they all have the reference to Zhikong's "Chan staff" and Zhikong's act of using it to strike listeners in order to shock them into "awakening" supports the view that Chinese Chan may have existed in this region.

These exchanges show that Zhikong discussed Buddhism and tried to convert people of all ranks, from the king of a country to those with heterodox views, by applying different strategies that included explication of scripture and Chan-style beatings. Implied in the attendants realizing "awakening" by Zhikong's blows is that he knew of the application of this well-known Chan-style "technique." It is obvious by this point in Zhikong's travels that at some time during his early studies at Nālandā or in Sri Lanka, or during his subsequent encounters while on his journey, that Zhikong had become knowledgeable of and conversant in, and could prove that he was able to apply, East Asian Chan traditions and methods and a range of Mahāyana scriptures, in order to convert those he met to Buddhism. In addition, this is one of the very few times in the extant texts of his travels to Yuan and Goryeo that

there is any mention of him having attendants, in contrast to the huge stable of attendants that Battuta often, and very proudly, mentioned. A superficial reading of his travelogue could give one the impression that Zhikong was travelling alone through all these various, and sometimes dangerous, regions that appear to be mostly uninhabited. However, this encounter suggests that he probably did not travel alone.

Concerning this country of Karana, Heo[356] posits that it shared some elements with the esoteric "Yoga sect (Yuga jong 유가종, Yujia zong 瑜伽宗)" of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra that had existed on the west coast of the Korean peninsula. This Yoga sect had been introduced during the peninsula during the unified Silla period (668-918 C.E.) by the Yogâcāra (Weishi 唯識) scholar-monk Zhenbiao (眞表). The followers of both Karana Buddhism and the late Goryeo Yoga sect considered the concept of "thoughts of repentance (*chanhui yise* 懺悔思想)" due to "casting off of one's body as an offering (*toushen gongyang* 投身供養)"[357] as an important aspect of their practice. However, there is no evidence that when Zhikong had any ties with the then-existent Yoga sect or its monks when he was in Goryeo. In fact, he opposed the act of donating food as an act of repentance. However, as has already been introduced in chapter two and as I discuss in more detail in chapters five and six, Zhikong did apply other elements of esotericism in his teaching and proselytizing.

Zhikong's next key encounter was in the country of Sindh (Shentou guo 神頭國), in today's Thār Desert in northwestern India. There, he had an experience in the desert that tested his "faith (or confidence) (*xin* 信)" in his ability to realize enlightenment and in the Buddhist path that leads to the realization of enlightenment. More importantly, as is illustrated in the following passage below, the encounter demonstrates the superiority of Zhikong's representative creative and flexible praxis of following "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" of Buddhism over the following of prescribed precepts or rules to the letter. It also points to the existence of Buddhism in the Sindh region.

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[356] Heo 1997, 30-31.

[357] This was a practical faith that emphasized practicing penitence discipline, for wrongdoing or for cultivation, through the adherence to the *bodhisattva* (*pusa* 菩薩) *vinaya* precepts. See Changsuk Kim (김창숙), "Penitence Practice of Beopsangjong in the Goryeo Dynasty (高麗時代 法相宗 의 懺法修行)" *Haksul Journal* (학술저널), 불교학연구회, 제 4 호 (2002): 109-127.

[In the state of] Sindh, [the] vast flowing sand, [I] did not know where [I] was. There was a tree, [and] its fruit look like peaches. [I] was extremely hungry [so I] picked two pieces to eat. Before [finishing them] a spirit appeared out of nowhere as an old man, sitting up straight, and said: "Thief! Why don't you bow [to me]?" I said: "I am a Buddhist. Why should [I] bow to you?" [The] old man spat out: "If [you] call [yourself] a follower of Buddha, why did [you] steal the fruit?" I said: "[I] am starving [and] the heat of this place compelled [me]." [The] old man said: "Not being granted [something] then taking [it] is robbery. [but I can] allow you to be free." He was benevolent in protecting [the] precepts. [It] made [me] close [my] eyes [and] a moment later [I] "reached the other shore." [There] in the heat [and] lying on a tree was a huge snake.

神頭國 流沙茫茫。不知所適。有樹其實如桃。飢甚摘食二枚。未竟空神句到 空居廣殿老人正座云。賊何不作禮。吾曰。吾佛徒也。何得禮汝。老罵。既稱佛. 何偷果為。吾曰。饑火所逼。老人曰。不與而取。盜也。令且放汝。其善護戒。使閉目。須臾 已到彼岸。煎湯臥木之上。乃大蟒也.[358]

This passage records that, after getting lost in the desert, the starving Zhikong picked some fruit from a tree and was about to eat them when a spirit appearing as an old man scolded Zhikong for not bowing to him, and then accused Zhikong of theft. Zhikong told him he didn't have to bow to the old man as he was a Buddhist, indicating there was no secular, worldly entity that he had to show respect to. As for the accusation of theft, Zhikong simply said that he was hungry, thus invoking the well-known adage and "expression" of enlightenment that when one is hungry, one eats.

One portion of this exchange is very important, as it demonstrates the development of Zhikong's understanding and enactment of his most important concept of "truth of the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" This important portion is that of the spirit chastising Zhikong for stealing fruit, even though Zhikong was hungry. According to the spirit, by stealing fruit Zhikong broke one of the most fundamental of the "five precepts (*wujie* 五戒);"[359] the one that prohibits stealing. The spirit as the old man clearly placed great value on following Buddhist precepts to the letter. Nonetheless, the spirit presented itself as a benevolent protector of (the fundamental practice of) keeping the Buddhist precepts by saying that it would not punish Zhikong for his transgression if he promised to keep the precepts from then on.

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[358] T.2089. 51, 0983c.

[359] The "five precepts" are the minimal moral restrictions observed by all Buddhists, whether they are members of the laity or monastics. They are not killing or stealing, not engaging improper sexual behavior, and no false speech or consumption of alcohol.

Then, at this point the spirit as the old man made Zhikong close his eyes. After doing so, Zhikong suddenly "reached the other shore (*dao bian* 到彼岸)."[360] To "reach the other shore" means to achieve *nirvāna*, and thus to leave "this shore" (*cian* 此岸) of "cyclic existence (*samsāra*)."[361] After Zhikong experienced this realization, he was able to see the original form of the spirit as an old man. It revealed itself as a special type of snake, a "*mahoraga* (*mang* 蟒)" [362] or python, and was there lying on a fallen tree in front of Zhikong. This type of snake is a protector of (the religion of) Buddhism, and in this story, it "protects" Buddhism by defending and demanding the following of the Buddhist precepts.

At one level of interpretation, this encounter with the Buddhism-protecting snake-spirit represents the current point in the development of Zhikong's philosophical perspective concerning the importance of the Buddhist precepts. His initial training in understanding the rules and laws of Buddhism that he had acquired in his studies at Nālandā under Vinayabhadra led him to focus on following the precepts as a critical aspect toward the realization of illumination. However, through the intensive practice of "meditative concentration" in Sri Lanka under Samantaprabhāsa and the subsequent experience of the realization of illumination (enlightenment), Zhikong had come to know and internalize that the realization of the wisdom of the emptiness of Buddhism's worldly precepts was of greater importance than merely following the precepts to the letter all the time. His experience of realization of enlightenment validated his pre-realization valorization of "faith (*xin* 信)" as the experiential guise of yet-unrealized enlightenment. This faith in his potential for realization allowed him to use his initial learning and praxis of following of precepts to the extent of internalization of them. Then, he would be able to accept and

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[360] The phrase, "to reach the other shore" is the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit term, "*pāramitā* (*boluomi* 波羅蜜),"which means "to complete perfection." Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

[361] This is an obvious reference to the well-known metaphorical story in Buddhism. This (near) shore is the starting place (ground) of the unenlightened, or as-yet-unawakened. The lake is the "process" that one traverses across in a boat. The boat is Buddhism, with all its aspects to assist one to get to the other (far) shore. That shore is the "ending place" (ground) of enlightenment, or awakening. When one reaches the other shore he no longer needs to boat (Buddhism). The entire context is the simultaneous existence of the *samsaric* world (of the unawakened) and *nirvanic* world (of the awakened).

[362] A "*mahoraga* (*mohouluojia* 摩睺羅伽)" is a class of demons which resemble pythons. It is one of the eight groups of spiritual beings that are usually present at *Mahāyāna sūtra* convocations. These spiritual beings are all thought to be protectors of Buddhism. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

allow the paradoxical act of breaking one of the precepts as a symbolic act of dropping the adherence to them as the ultimate practice towards and of the realization of awakening.

This encounter with the snake-spirit demonstrated that Zhikong had already come to the critical point in the process of his acquisition of understanding. He experienced the sudden realization (of awakening) that entails the acceptance of the "truth of the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" as the ultimate practice and teaching that he would undertake as his representative life-long activity. Realization of awakening is also the "beginning" of wisdom. This encounter with the snake-spirit and Zhikong's symbolic act of dropping his adherence or clinging to the this-worldly precept of not stealing demonstrated that Zhikong's praxis and level of understanding had come to the point at which his "spiritual resonance," which he had developed through his long-time soteriological paradigm of merely following the precepts, was greater than the act of merely following the secular world-based precepts as the ultimate practice that the snake-spirit, as a protector of Buddhism, demanded. In addition, Zhikong's post-realization power over the snake-spirit, his ability to see it no longer as an old man but as its true manifestation as a snake-spirit, directly demonstrated his new-found depth of wisdom that allowed him to come to understand that the ultimate practice for him was that of keeping the more flexible "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" rather than merely following, all the time and to the letter, the precepts he had learned. This encounter also reiterates the assertion, already discussed earlier in this chapter, that Zhikong had made to members of the assembly when he thanked Samantaprabhāsa for his guidance by saying, "Advance, then there is expansive emptiness; backslide, then there is submersion in all *dharmas*." The encounter with the snake-spirit highlights an important marker in Zhikong's spiritual development. It depicts his experience of realization of enlightenment, or his advancement to a residing in expansive emptiness, which demonstrated a symbolic change in his perspective away from the until-then reliance on the letter of the rules by which he had been educated to follow and to the liberating and expansive wisdom of neither reliance on nor avoidance of the precepts as the ultimate praxis of an enlightened person.

On another level of interpretation, this encounter with the snake-spirit as an old man also implies that Zhikong, prior to this event, had struggled with the fact that in his spiritual development there would come a time at which he would have to let go of the incorrect idea that following the precepts to the letter was the ultimate practice. This entailed realizing that the mere following of precepts for this-worldly interaction with things in this world of *samsāra* was also an activity merely of this world. The (mere following of) precepts did not represent (the expression of) ultimate truth. Precepts were, as every aspect or element of Buddhism, ultimately to be dropped or let go. What Zhikong had come to take as reality – the spirit appeared at first to be an old man, keeping precepts at first seemed to be what he should do – he finally perceived, through his experience of realization, as mere illusion as well as delusion on his part. The snake-spirit as the old man was actually a proverbial "good friend" of Buddhism, an entity that aided him in maintaining his resolve concerning and faith in Buddhism, to help him to ultimately and clearly realize the "truth of the reality of things." Zhikong's will to continue following the rules of morality that made up the precepts of the *vinaya* that he had studied for so long had been tested against the depth of his internalization of the truth of the emptiness of ultimate wisdom, and his enactment of praxis based on this wisdom. This encounter validated his reliance on the "truth of the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" as a greater truth than the lesser, secular "truth" of merely following precepts to the letter, which is the conventional reality of the *samsaric* world that the prescribed precepts are based on and in.

After the encounter with the snake-spirit, in country of Tridhara (Deliluoer guo 的哩囉兒國), in the northwest part of the Indian subcontinent, Zhikong had more encounters which continued to test him both in ways he had been tested before and in new ways. They demonstrate the development of his philosophical perspective. Applying his extensive knowledge of Buddhism strengthened his resolve to get through challenges and to continue to try to convert the non-believers in this country to Buddhism. His encounters show that northwestern India during the first decade of the 14th century was influenced by Islam. The following three passages are about encounters Zhikong had in Tridhara.

[In the state of] Tridhara, [a] woman wanted [to have] sex [with me]. Because [I] was starving [I] asked for food, [and] it seemed [I] would have to do [it]. Then [I] asked her for a good horse.

的哩囉兒國 女求合。以飢欲求食 若將應之. 而問其馬之良者.[363]

This passage records that, just as what happened after Zhikong had parted ways with Samantaprabhāsa in Sri Lanka, he again met a woman who wanted to "have sex with (*jiehe* 結合)" him. As then, to do so in this case would entail him giving up his vow of celibacy. However, this time, he would break another one of the five most fundamental Buddhist precepts; to not be untruthful. Here, he was again tested by hunger, so pretended to agree to her request in order to have food.[364] To avoid having to discuss what seems to have been innuendo concerning sex associated with his acceptance of food, he asked her about how to obtain a good horse.

In this encounter, Zhikong demonstrated flexibility in his decision concerning which one of two of the most fundamental precepts for a Buddhist he would choose to break in this situation. They are, in fact, two of the most fundamental "five precepts" for all Buddhists; not to have illicit sex and not to be untruthful. He realized in this encounter that he would have to break one of them. He decided, based on the context of the situation, to not be truthful by agreeing to have sex, in order to obtain food. This allowed him to continue to live and thus to be able to continue to carry out the most fundamental activity, which is propagating the *Dharma*. Again, like Zhikong's aforementioned encounter with the snake-spirit as an old man in the desert of the Sindh region, his encounter here emphasizes the notion, which he took to heart as part of his signature aspect of praxis, that even following the most fundamental prescribed precepts concerning interaction with sentient beings in this *samsaric* world is not the ultimate form of practice.

The following passage also illustrates the fact that merely being moral is not the ultimate practice. Being in "meditative concentration" is the ultimate practice.

There was a huge snowstorm [so I] entered a cave and entered "meditative concentration" for seven days and nights. [A] bright light came out of [the] cave. [The] people [there who] removed [the] snow and then entered [the cave and] saw me [sitting in the] lotus position [and] were greatly happy. [They]

[363] T.2089. 51, 0983c.
[364] This comment on the text, supported by Heo (1997, 40-41), contrasts with that of Waley (1932) who writes that Zhikong did not take any food from the woman because he felt he would have to yield to, meaning to have sex with, her.

bestowed clothing and jewels [on me but I] did not accept. The minds of all the men and women were "aroused."

會大雪。入洞入定七日夜。白光出洞。其人除雪 而入見吾 趺坐大喜。
施以衣寶。不受。男女俱發心.[365]

In this encounter, still in Tridhara, heavy snow forced him into a cave, where for seven nights he "entered into meditative contemplation (*ruding* 入定)." This is not mere "meditative concentration (*ding* 定)," which implies pre-realization of illumination (enlightenment) practice. "Entering into meditative contemplation" suggests post-realization cultivation of realization, so the passage implies that Zhikong had already experienced realization of awakening. In this encounter, Zhikong's post-realization cultivation of realization is suggested by the bright light coming out of the cave during the time he was in there. People who saw the light investigated and found him "sitting in the lotus position (*jiejia fuzuo* 結跏趺坐)" and, upon seeing him in the light, they became greatly happy, or "exulted (*daxi* 大喜)."[366] Although Zhikong refused their offerings of clothes and treasures, his "spiritual resonance" alone instilled in them the "arousal of (the) mind (of faith) (*faxin* 發心)," of the thought or sincere resolve to realize enlightenment for the sake of others. In effect, seeing Zhikong in his enlightened state converted them to Buddhism. Being moral by following the precepts was not involved in this act of proselytizing and successful conversion. This story highlights Zhikong's education in and understanding of Buddhism, his high level practice of, and realization of illumination through, Chan meditation, and his success at spreading the *Dharma* by converting others. As is illustrated in the passage below, at least some people in that region of Tridhara were willing to accept Buddhism and Zhikong as a teacher.

[I] travelled for a long time [but] did not see [any] people [, but I] suddenly encountered several [people on the] road [and] heart was joyous. [However] those people grabbed me [and] took [me] to the king's residence [and] knelt, saying: "The heavens are dry, and this is most certainly strange. Please let

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[365] T.2089. 51, 0983c.

[366] The implication stressed by the light emanating from the cave is that Zhikong was experiencing the realization of enlightenment and not merely just engaged in meditative concentration. The "Buddha-ray (*fangguany rui* 放光瑞)," refers to light emanating from one who is experiencing meditative insight, or realizing enlightenment. The "Buddha-ray" is one of the "six portents (*liurui* 六瑞)," or six auspicious indicators attributed to the Buddha prior to his delivery of the *Lotus Sūtra*. The experience of "meditative insight (*ruding rui* 入定瑞)," or "*samādhi*," is also one of the "six portents." The "delight of the beholders (*zhongxi rui* 衆喜瑞)," who are in the presence of someone realizing enlightenment, is another one of the "six portents." See Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

[us] kill him." [The] king said: "[I] will allow it. [If there is] no rain in three days, then [you can] kill [him]." I burned incense [and recited] an "invocation." It rained three days [later].

行且久未見人。忽遇諸途。心甚悅。其人捉吾 至王所 面跪曰。
天旱必此妖也。請殺之。王曰。且縱之。三日不雨 殺何遲。吾燒香一祝。
大雨三日.[367]

In this third encounter in Tridhara, Zhikong was able to avoid death at the hands of people and their ruler who blamed him for the drought they had been experiencing. They were set on killing him within three days after capturing him, despite the fact that Zhikong had initially been happy to see them. Zhikong avoided death by producing rain within the allotted period. He did so through the ritual process of chanting a "mystical invocation (*zhou* 咒, *mantra*)." He "burned incense and chanted an invocation (*shaoxiang yizhu* 燒香一祝)." This encounter implies that the people in that region near Tridhara expected certain individuals to have the magical powers of a "thaumaturge (*gudao fuzhou* 蠱道符呪)," and that those powers could be used to hurt as well as help others. This encounter alludes to the activities of the early esoteric masters in the East Asian tradition. Zhikong's affinity to the early esoteric tradition and thaumaturgy is discussed in chapter two. All three of Zhikong's aforementioned encounters in Tridhara suggest that there must have been a variety of types of thought forms, including Buddhism, that were competing with each other for adherents among the peoples in and around the region.

[In the state of] Jālandhar, there was a "crazy" monk. When [he] saw people coming, he lined up three ox heads on the ground, place a clump of vines on them, and then silently sit [down]. [He] saw me coming and set [everything] on fire [and] shouted at it (shouted at it to transmit "originally non-existence") saying: "[The] mountains and rivers [and the] "great ground" consist of one fragment!"

Monk Daoyan of Anouchi lived beside [the crazy monk. Daoyan's] small monastery was made of straw. When people came, as a rule he set [it] on fire [and] shouted saying: "Help, fire! Help, fire!" [When] I arrived, [he] just shouted: "Help, fire!" [I] kicked over his water pot. Daoyan said: "It's a pity that [someone like that has been] so late in coming."

嵯楞陀國有 顛僧.見人來以牛頭三列於地。置蒲團其上。默然而坐。吾一見火之。彼叫 (叫字通本無)曰. 山河大地 成一片矣.

阿耨池僧 道巖居其傍。以草作小菴。人來則焚之。叫曰。救火救火。吾至 才叫救火。踢倒淨瓶。道巖曰。可惜來何遲.[368]

[367] T.2089. 51, 0983c.
[368] T.2089. 51, 0983c.

These two encounters in this passage took place in the state of Jālandhar (Cuoleng tuo guo 嵯楞陀國), north of Tridhara and in the northeastern-most part of India.[369] A close reading of the two encounters shows that they both invoke the aforementioned "all things are contained in one (*yiqie jiyi* 一切卽一)" concept, and both present the same point concerning the primacy of "original non-existence (*benwu* 本無, *tathatā, thusness*)."

In the first encounter, Zhikong met a "crazy monk" who set fire to three ox heads covered with grass whenever he saw someone coming down the road toward him. While doing so, the monk shouted that the mountains and the rivers, meaning all the things in the natural world, and the "great ground (*dadi* 大地)," meaning the basis of all Buddhist practices, consisted of "one fragment (*cheng yipian* 成一片)," meaning one integrated and perfectly complete entity.[370] Thus, his statement means that all the things of the natural world are the basis or ground of all Buddhist practices, and that any thing or practice could "lead" to an experience of the realization of truth.

This encounter invokes the aforementioned "all things are contained in one (*yiqie jiyi* 一切卽一)" concept.[371] This concept means that every thing only superficially seems to be distinct from others, but the ultimate reality is that every thing is ultimately "originally non-existent (*benwu* 本無)." In essence, every thing, in its essential nature, is "original non-existence" or "*thusness*," and therefore does not have an independent self-nature that would separate it from other things. On another level of interpretation, the ox is a symbol of the mind in Buddhism. The three oxen heads represent the "three poisons or afflictions (*sandu* 三毒)" of the mind; "greed or craving (*tan* 貪)," "hatred (*chen* 瞋)," and "delusion or ignorance

[369] Jalandhar was in what is today's Punjab and Kashmir regions of India. Heo (1997) refers to the ritual of offering food in bull skulls as related to Hindu worship. Gupta writes that this type of worship was popular in Shavism, the oldest of four sects of Hinduism, during medieval India.
[370] See Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[371] This "all things are contained in one" conceptualization is a key view of the Huayan school. It means that interpenetration is the nature of existence. The Huayan school also holds other conceptualizations that are associated with the concept of interpenetration. These are; "one is all (*yiji yiqie* 一卽一切)," meaning that one phenomenon and all phenomena are identified simultaneously without hindrance; and "one is many (*yiji duo* 一卽多)," meaning that one phenomenon and all phenomena are the same without obstruction. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

(*chi* 癡)." The crazy monk setting them on fire when he saw others is symbolic of an individual's process of preparing the mind to realize illumination by confronting and deconstructing the three poisons of the mind, as these and all existing forms or expressions of one's "cognizing (discriminating) mind (*shixin* 識心)"are ultimately merely limited expressions of the one "True Mind." The crazy monk verbalized this act of deconstruction while he physically was doing so by burning the ox heads, by saying that all things in the world ultimately reverted to their essential nature, meaning "original non-existence."

In the second encounter in this passage, Zhikong met the monk Daoyan of Anouchi.[372] He was living in a small Buddhist temple made of straw beside the "crazy" monk discussed in the first encounter. Whenever someone came there, Daoyan would set it on fire and shout, "Put out the fire!" He did so when Zhikong came, prompting Zhikong to kick over his pot of water (implying that this chosen act to put water on the fire by Zhikong put out the fire). Daoyan then said that he was sorry that Zhikong had not come long ago. The suggestion is that Zhikong consciously chose to kick over Daoyan's pot of water onto the fire, with the explicit purpose of putting it out. The implication of fire, symbolic of emotionality and arousal of the fire of passion in the mind, is that Zhikong showed Daoyan that one could choose to act rationally, decisively, quickly, and "rightly," based on the emergent situation, even in a situation that inflamed passions. Daoyan was offering those passing by the opportunity to demonstrate right action through his seemingly foolish act of setting his own house on fire.

At another level of interpretation, this story alludes to and invokes the themes in "Parable of the Burning House" story in the *Lotus Sūtra*. It emphasizes the specific point of the importance of seeing the underlying truth, the true reality, of a matter in this world of suffering and passions, and then acting rightly with the wisdom of that reality. Through Buddhist practice, one can acquire the ability to cut through the superficial, especially self-contrived, conditions that create and perpetuate one's own

[372] Waley (1932, 366) writes that this refers to the legendary lake at the center of the Buddhist universe, but that tradition holds that it is located north of the Himalayas (rather than west-southwest of them which is where this location was). Also, it is usually identified with Lake Manasarowar.

suffering as well as the suffering in the *samsaric* world. On this point, Zhikong saw Daoyan as having constructed an artificial situation, the potential for his "house" to be on fire, and then set it on fire whenever someone came. Daoyan did this as a "skillful (expedient) means (*fangbian* 方便, *upāya*)," or his artificially contrived situation by which he could help others realize "true reality." This mirrors the "Parable of the Burning House" scenario. A house was on fire and the owner's three sons in it were so interested in playing inside of it that they were oblivious to the danger. The owner did not have enough time to run in and save all of them, so in order to entice them outside on their own, he told them that each of them their favorite things was outside. Daoyan set his "house" on fire whenever he saw someone approach, in order to create a dangerous situation in which the person would have to make a decision as to how to act. Zhikong knocked over Daoyan's own water pot to douse the fire; a fire which should have been set under the water pot in the first place. The message of Zhikong's solution of the absurd and artificially-contrived situation created by Daoyan is clear. It is that our suffering in this world is of our own "discriminating mind's" making, whether we are conscious of it or not. And, not only that, we are able to create artificial conditions to get us, even to trick others or even ourselves through the application of "skillful means," to stop our self-induced suffering.

At yet another level of interpretation, this story alludes to the fundamental acknowledgement in Buddhism that we create our own *karmic* merit, and that each of us can ultimately only save our own self. As well, Zhikong's simple solution to Daoyan setting his own house on fire in front of others, in order to "offer" them an artificial-contrived situation of danger, highlights the ever-so-obvious cause and effect conditionality of this *samsaric* world to one who has realized enlightenment. In his act, Zhikong deconstructed Daoyan's artificially-contrived dangerous situation by using one of the props Daoyan had supplied, his own water pot, to put out the fire. Zhikong exposed Daoyan's artificial and contrived situation, his creation of a "teachable moment" for other sentient beings, as a lesser form of teaching or a "skillful means."

The implication of Zhikong's way of dealing with Daoyan's artificially-contrived scenario concerning teaching others, or giving others the opportunity for an instance of realization, is obvious. Just as the path that leads to, or the praxis that opens one up to, the realization of enlightenment is ultimately personal, a teacher can only guide another person to look into his own situation or his own history of *karmic* merit acquisition. The teacher need not, and can not, create an artificial situation outside of another's own experience, for that person to be able to deconstruct his own self and thus to prepare himself in a way that makes an instance of the realization of enlightenment possible. Daoyan's teaching method is one that is mired in the logic and rules of the *samsaric* world and its conditions. Daoyan's teaching is at the level of following long-prescribed methods and rules (precepts), demonstrated by his creation of the same situation for every traveler that passed by. Zhikong, on the other hand, with his sudden, consciously-chosen, decisive and "right" act, not only put out the fire but did so by destroying Daoyan's contrived scenario. Zhikong rose above the contrivance by Daoyan that this truly was a dangerous situation to him. Through his praxis up to that point in his life, in this encounter Zhikong enacted "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" concept. What looks like a violent act might be just what is needed to catalyze the realization of enlightenment. The "right" teaching method for any one person, a method that for him makes the sudden "ah-ha moment" of realization occur, might be one that breaks a precept. The implication is that experiencing realization is ultimately more important than the following any precept to the letter, thus valorizing Zhikong's representative "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" soteriological praxis.

Daoyan's verbal response to Zhikong's act was that it was a pity that it had taken so long for someone like Zhikong to come along and do this; to rise above the mere following of rules in order to indicate a higher truth than conventional truth in the *samsaric* world. The implication is that Daoyan realized that Zhikong had "solved" the situation in a way no one else had (or it had been such a long time that someone had done so). It proved to him that Zhikong was indeed a great teacher, as he had thought outside the parameters of the structure of the situation Daoyan had created. Put in another way, through having realized enlightenment, Zhikong had acquired the ability to see reality and act accordingly and act

"rightly," and more importantly creatively, in an emergent situation. The message of this encounter is that Zhikong had realized enlightenment and subsequently continued to live in the world as a *bodhisattva*, as one who aides all others in their own realization.

On even another level of interpretation, a close reading of these two encounters in Jālandhar demonstrates that they present the same message. It is that every thing in this *samsaric*, conventional world is, at its essence, empty of independent self-nature (as clearly expressed in the encounter with the crazy monk). Just because one is living in this world one need not necessarily ignore and avoid knowing, understanding and consciously choosing to perform actions that follow the rational laws of the world (as in the second encounter, with Daoyan). The meaning of these encounters offers support for Zhikong's representative aspect of his teaching. It is that a wide learning and the following of precepts of Buddhism are necessary precursors to the understanding of the conditions of sentient beings in this world of *samsāra*, but the more fundamental practice or cultivation is the development and enactment of wisdom, based on the experience of realization. Knowledge, understanding and precepts are ultimately to be transcended. This fact thus validates Zhikong's praxis and practice of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." Zhikong's two encounters in Jālandhar can be seen as offering an opportunity to comprehend the utility of following the middle way rather than either one of the two extremes of conditionality and emptiness.

[In the state of] Malasa, [the people] greatly revered Buddhism, and heterodox and orthodox views were mixed together. I discoursed on the *Treatise on Refuting Error*, and those with heretical views accepted [my] orthodox views.

末羅娑國 事佛甚謹。而邪正雜糅。吾說破邪論。外道歸正矣.[373]

This passage records Zhikong discoursing on the *Treatise on Refuting Error* (*Poxie lun* 破邪論) in Malasa (Moluosuo guo 末羅娑國), which is in Kashmir today. Through his discourse, those with heretical views such as Hinduism were converted to orthodox Buddhist views. Zhikong's success on this point highlights the depth of his education in both Buddhism and other systems, and his applicability of that knowledge in his teaching. More importantly, it emphasizes that he was not only able to critique their

[373] T.2089. 51, 0983c.

belief systems and point out the heretical elements as well as the correct views of Buddhism in their systems, but that he was also able to present them to those people in a way that they could comprehend as well as accept. It also points out that Buddhism did exist, albeit mixed to some degree with heterodox elements, in the extreme northwestern Indian subcontinent at that time Zhikong was there.

East of the city, Monk Bao cultivated [the] field around his house. [He] placed vegetable "seeds" in a dish, and when people came [he] just continued working in the field. Without [saying] a word, I took seeds from the dish and began planting them. [The] monk shouted, saying: "Vegetables are growing! Vegetables are growing!"

城東寶和尚 墾其所居四面為田。置菜種一器。人至則治田而已。無一言。吾以菜種從 而下之。僧叫曰。菜生矣。菜生矣.[374]

Still in Malasa, Zhikong encountered a monk named Bao (Bao *heshang* 寶和尚). Bao had cleared out his living quarters in order to make a field in which to plant and cultivate vegetables. He had vegetable "seeds" in a bowl while he was working his field. Zhikong came along, picked up the bowl of seeds, went to the field, and then began planting them. In response to Zhikong's act, the monk shouted that vegetables were now growing in his field.

The treasure implied to here is the "Buddha-nature (*foxing* 佛性)." This conceptualization means that everyone has the seed, or potential, for one's "Buddha-nature" to become manifest. At a superficial level, "seed (*zhong* 種)" means to plant or sow, but at a deeper level it also refers to the potentiality or predisposition to "uncover" or realize one's inherent "Buddha-nature," thus making the "Buddha-nature" manifest. The fertile and plowed field prepared by the monk symbolizes the conventional, *samsaric* world of (good and bad) conditions, which is the "ground" or place for the growing of this predisposition for the realization of one's inherent "Buddha-nature." The way to have one's inherent "Buddha-nature" become manifest is through a process of practice, or "cultivation," under the guidance of a master. Zhikong is depicted in this story as the one who was sowing seeds, or cultivating disciples. In addition, it is through his guidance that the disciples grow in their potential to have their "Buddha-nature" become manifest via

[374] T.2089. 51, 0983c.

the experience of sudden realization. This passage indicates that Malasa was an area that was receptive to Buddhist teachings at the time Zhikong was passing through there.

[In the country of] Anavatapta, [a] monk [named] Xingyi lived in a cave. Whenever he saw someone coming, he smeared his face with soot, came out and danced, and then went back in. I [said] a poetic verse [and we] exchanged "exclamatory shouts."

In [the state of] Josa, [a] monk [named] Nada had been living at the side of the road for many years. When [he] saw those coming, [he] said: "Hello!" When [he] saw those leaving, [he] said: "Goodbye!" I hit him three times [with my] staff [and he] gave me a punch.

[In the state of] Tirahut, the way of Brahmanism is prevalent. I put down [my] hands and went.

[In the state of] Tehri, true teachings and heterodoxy were practiced. [I] encountered bandits who stripped [me] naked.

阿耨達國 僧省一居窟中。見人來 以煤塗面。出舞而復入。吾以偈相喝. 早娑國 僧納達居道傍數年。見來者曰。好來。見去者曰。好去。吾便與三捧。彼迴一拳. 的哩候的國 婆羅門法盛行。吾縮手而去。挺伕哩國 真邪同行。遇盜裸剝.[375]

This passage offers short descriptions of four exchanges Zhikong had with peoples while he was passing through four small emirates located in the upper northwest part of the Indian subcontinent, to the west of Nepal and Tibet. These small emirates included Anavatapata (Anouda guo 阿耨達國), southeast of Malasa, the Josa kingdom (Zhaosuo guo 早娑國), to the east of Anavatapata, Tirahut (Delihoude guo 的哩候的國) and Tehri or Tikkari (Tingquli guo 挺伕哩國), south of the Himalayas and on the western border of Tibet. The first two encounters clearly suggest that elements of Chan Buddhism, from East Asia, may have existed in these emirates.

The first exchange is similar to Zhikong's encounter with the Cholas king, just after leaving Samantaprabhāsa in Sri Lanka, in that it demonstrates aspects of the Chan school. That encounter and this exchange in Anavatapata with Xingyi[376] are reminiscent of the "*Dharma* test" method that is representative of the Chan school. This method involves an exchange of words, questions and answers, gestures or responses between a master and a student. The exchange of "exclamatory shouts (*he* 喝)"

[375] T.2089. 51, 0983c-0984a.
[376] Gupta (2006, 591) refers to this person as a Shavite (Hindu) priest.

suggests that Xingyi was Zhikong's equal. This, along with him smearing soot on his face, implies that unorthodox elements were mixed in with Buddhist elements. In addition, Xingyi lived in a cave, had a strange appearance and exhibited unorthodox behavior. All these are common referents to Chan iconoclasticism.

Zhikong encountered another eccentric figure along the road in the nearby Josa kingdom to the east of Anavatapta, the monk Nada. Zhikong gave him three blows with his staff, and Nada replied by striking Zhikong back with his fist. These actions suggest that the paradoxical Chan-style "encounter dialogue," the tradition of which includes stories of physical blows as a viable means to shock one into having an instance of the realization of awakening, was present and was practiced in the Josa kingdom at that time Zhikong was there.

Zhikong avoided nearby Tirahut because "Brāhmanism (Pouluomen jiao 婆羅門教)"[377] flourished there. Southeast of Tirahut was Tehri, which was just to the south of the Himalayan mountain range and just to the west of Tibet.[378] In Tehri, Zhikong encountered both heterodox and orthodox systems. He was robbed and left naked. In these two parts of the passage, orthodox Buddhist and heterodox elements are demonstrated by Zhikong's encounters with individuals in these areas. The encounters highlight two points that were discussed earlier in this chapter. One is that, contrary to the prevailing view during most of the 20th century, Buddhism was not wiped out by the entry of the Muslims into the subcontinent many decades before and the growth of Islam on the subcontinent after that. The other is that Buddhism had not been totally muted by Hinduism and Brāhmanism in the northeastern and northern parts of the Indian subcontinent by the time Zhikong was there. These encounters show that East Asian Chan Buddhism may have existed in these areas, along with indigenized forms of Buddhism.

[377] This is also a term for Hinduism as well as general term for Indian religious mendicants. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[378] Tehri was located in today's state of Uttranchal, which borders Tibet and Nepal.

Not only did Zhikong initiate "encounter dialogue" exchanges in which individuals reciprocated appropriately, some of these types of exchanges were also initiated by individuals for Zhikong to respond to. Thus, these exchanges were not taught to them by Zhikong. The implication is that unorthodox elements were mixed in with Buddhism prior to Zhikong's arrival in this region.

[The] ruler of [the state of] Negala received [me] inside the palace [and] asked [me] to lecture on [the] *Dharma*. Baofeng was lecturing on the scriptures [so] I joined [him and] we took turns expounding.....

…[That the] ice and snow don't disappear is the reason [they are] called [the] Himalayas, [I] was alone and famished [and] living on wild fruit, [I] arrived at the border of Tibet. My purpose was [to go] to the "Middle Kingdom" [but I] encountered in north Indian [monk] Mahapandit in western Tibet, [and] together [we] went to Yanjing [but] did not stay long.

禰伽羅國王迎入內。請說法。有寶峰者說經. 吾與之互相宣說….

… 冰雪不消。故號雪山。孤身飢窮。嗔野果以達西蕃之境焉. 吾之行化 于中國也. 遇北印度 摩訶班特達 於西蕃 偕至燕京。居未久.[379]

The first part of this passage depicts Zhikong's encounter in the state of Negala (Mijialuo guo 禰伽羅國), today's Nepal.[380] The king had Zhikong brought to his palace to lecture on the *Dharma*. The monk Baofeng was there lecturing on the scriptures, and he and Zhikong took turns expounding on them. The ruler received Zhikong, indicating that prior to arriving in Nepal Zhikong had already not only become well-known for his discourse ability but that his presence in the area at the time had become known at the highest level. A familiar theme in Zhikong's travelogue is a ruler knowing of Zhikong's fame and presence in his kingdom, and then having Zhikong brought to discourse on Buddhism in front of him.

On the eastern border of Nepal was Tibet. As Zhikong passed to the south of the Himalayas (Xueshan 雪山, "Snow Mountains") and was going east, he was alone and hungry due to having been living only on

[379] T.2089. 51, 0984a.

[380] After the Muslim invasion and destruction of Buddhist learning centers such as Nālandā in the early decades of the 13th century, Nepal became one of the main centers for Buddhist learning. Eminent Buddhist monks from the great university-temple complexes fled to Nepal, taking with them Sanskrit manuscripts that would be copied by Nepalese Buddhists. By the late 13th century, a decade or so begfore Zhikong passed through this region, the Malla Dynasty was in a period of syncretism of Hindu and Buddhist art. See Shanker Thapa, *Newar Buddhism: History, Scholarship and Literature* (Lalitpur: Nagarjuna Publications, 2005), 1-17; Shanker Thapa, *Buddhist Sanskrit Literature of Nepal* (Seoul: Minjoksa Publishing Co., 2005), 17-30; Min Bahadur Shakya, *A Short History of Buddhism in Nepal* (Lalitpur: Young Buddhist Publication, 1986), 4; Rajendra Ram, *History of Buddhism in Nepal 704-1396 A.D.* (Patna: Jana Bharati Prakashan, 1977), 82-83; and Gupta 2006, 591.

wild fruits. The terrain was difficult. In a weakened condition, he arrived at the eastern border of Tibet. In Tibet, he met a monk named Mahāpandit (Mohe Banteda 摩訶班特達),[381] who was from northern India. With this chance meeting, Zhikong decided to change his direction and accompany Mahāpandit to the "Middle Kingdom (Yuan China)." It appears that due to his weakened condition and the invitation by Mahāpandit to accompany him to Yanjing, the Yuan capital, Zhikong accepted the invitation and went with him to Yanjing. However, he did not stay there long.[382]

Conclusion

Zhikong's travel record of his journey throughout the Indian subcontinent depicts that, during the first decade of the 14th century, elements of both Mahayana Buddhism and Theravada Buddhism existed, but in locally indigenized forms. As shown in this chapter by my descriptions and discussions of Zhikong's encounters, I concur with Heo[383] in his assertion that Zhikong's encounters on the Indian subcontinent portrayed a continent of "religious variety and disunity." Heo also suggests that the Theravada Buddhism that was prevalent there, what he refers to as the "southern transmission of Buddhist teaching (*nanchuan*

[381] The term "*mahā*" means "great," and "*pandit*" means "scholar or teacher, of Sanskrit or Hindu law."

[382] At this point in the travelogue of Zhikong, Yi Saek clearly writes that Zhikong stayed a short time in Yanjing before heading back to the west, near the eastern border between Tibet and the Yuan. In fact, Heo (1997) suggests this in his maps detailing Zhikong's overall route during his travels. However, Waley (1932) states directly that it was not possible for Zhikong to have had a short stay in "Peking" at that point in time, which Waley asserts was probably very early in the 14th century. The year that Zhikong met and traveled with Mahapandit may have been as early as 1310 C.E.

In chapter two, I calculated that it may have been as early as 1310, but, more likely, near or in 1315, that Zhikong began to spend up to five years in Yunnan founding Zhengxu Temple before going to Yanjing to spend the rest of his life. Therefore, Zhikong's meeting with Mahāpandit probably took place around 1310. Waley asserts that the statement that Zhikong spent only a short time in Yanjing at this time is false. Waley's rationale is based on what Yi Saek writes directly after the portion of the travelogue text that this passage is in. I deal with this issue at the beginning of chapter four in this paper. Yi writes that Zhikong went west to Anxi to meet with the Prince of that area. Both Heo and Waley assert that Fukedi was the great grandson of Kublai Khan, and that he was not made Prince Fukedi of Anxi until 1323. However, he was accused of complicity in the assassination of Emperor Yingzong right after that and banished to Yunnan in 1324 or 1325, and put to death in Yunnan in 1332. See Dukji Ma, (마득지, 馬得志), Seoan Weondae Anseo Wang budong sagi (서안원대안서왕부동사기, 西安元代安西王府動查記). 고고 (考古) 5 (1960).

I am not confident with Waley's rationale. It is clear to and understood by researchers of Zhikong that the known extant copies of Zhikong's travelogue follow the same structure, that of the first two-thirds of the completed version written in the mid-1320s, the earliest version in existence. It is quite possible that some of the sections in Yi Saek's 1377 version of Zhikong's travelogue, as they are ordered in the text, are not in logical temporal order. Therefore, I suggest that the passage that immediately follows the phrase that Zhikong did not stay long in Yanjing is factual, and that it is an account of an experience that took place almost two decades before the experience was first written down, which was in 1323 or 1324, after Zhikong arrived in Yanjing the second time. Referring to Fukedi of Anxi as the prince offers proof that parts of Zhikong's travelogue were written long after Zhikong had finished his journey from his home country to Yanjing (the second time). At least the first two thirds of the completed version of Zhikong's travelogue, the earliest in existence but since lost, were written in the mid 1320s, but Yi wrote his completed version of Zhikong's travelogue, which was based on versions of the original, in 1377.

[383] Heo 1997.

fojiao 南傳佛教, 남전불교)," had a lot in common with Chinese Chan, such as an emphasis on individualism, and that the most representative expression of Theravada on the subcontinent was in Sri Lanka. What Heo refers to as the "northern transmission of Buddhist teaching (*beichuan fojiao* 北傳佛教, 북전불교)" emphasized the following of precepts and the study of scriptures, and treated the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Avatamsaka sūtra* as key texts of its tradition. Among the states that Zhikong travelled through on the Indian subcontinent, this northern transmission tradition was probably best represented in his home country of Magadha in northeastern India.

In the following chapter four, I discuss Zhikong's travels through Yuan China and back to the capital of Dadu. I theorize that Zhikong may not only have not planned to go to Dadu from Tibet when he met Mahapandit but that he may not have planned to go to Dadu at all, at least not to live there as long as he ultimately did. It is my contention that his initial plan after leaving his home country may have been to arrive at and spend his life in the Yunnan region, due to the long history between his country and Yunnan. However, his fame continued to spread throughout the Yuan during his lengthy stays of up to five years in Yunnan and up to three years in Shu (Sichuan). Therefore, it was about twelve years or more after his initial short visit to the Yuan capital with Mahapandit that Zhikong, while in Yangzhou (扬州) near the east coast of the Yuan, received a message from the emperor, in about 1322 or 1323, to go to Dadu (for a second time) and appear before him.

CHAPTER 4: ZHIKONG, 'THE LAST LIGHT OF INDIAN BUDDHISM,' JOURNEYS THROUGH EAST ASIA PROSELYTIZING BUDDHISM

In this chapter, I discuss the remainder of Zhikong's journey that would eventually take him back to the Yuan capital, Dadu, and the rest of his life there. There are three parts to this chapter. The first part is his journey from Tibet to Dadu and then back west to the Shu region. This includes his initial, unplanned and brief excursion to the Yuan capital. From there, he went back west to Tibet, and then to Xian (西安). From there, he went to Shu (蜀), today's Sichuan province, where he may have stayed for up to three years. In this part, I also discuss the historical context of the ties between Zhikong's home country of Magadha and the Shu-Ba region as well as Yunnan.

In the second part, I discuss Zhikong's activity in southwestern Yuan province of Yunnan, where he spent up to five years founding Zhengxu Temple. After that, he traveled eastward through Guizhou (貴州) and Yangzhou (扬州) near the east coast, then turned northward and went back to the capital for the second time. The third and final part is the last decades of his life spent in and around Dadu, and includes his two year and seven month journey through the Goryeo peninsula that began in 1326.

Throughout the rest of his journey and life, Zhikong continued to attempt to convert many of the people he met to Buddhism, just as he had while traveling throughout the Indian subcontinent. His encounters offer support for the view that there was a diversity of religions practiced within the territories under the Mongol Yuan rulers, as the Yuan had no comprehensive bureaucratic system of selective religious control with which to oversee the maintenance of a national religion. Essentially, the borderland regions were on their own in terms of their choice of religions.

Both Yuming Duan[384] and Heungsik Heo[385] assert that Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong, despite its factual errors, offers the most clear, comprehensive and reliable source of information about Zhikong's activities. This is due to the fact that it contains many place names, many of them transliterated into

[384] Duan 2007.
[385] Heo 1997.

Chinese from Sanskrit. They cannot be exaggerations or imaginations. These places did exist. However, concerning accuracy, the historical data contained in the travelogue is another matter. There has to be corroboration to verify the historical data. To help verify and clarify Zhikong's activities and correct errors, a close analysis and use of historical geography such as toponymy, or place-naming, can be valuable in evaluating and checking historical data.

Heo[386] posits that Zhikong did not have a specific destination in mind at which to settle down and practice and teach Buddhism until he passed through Tibet after stopping for a short time in the Yuan capital. Heo's rationale is that Zhikong was still developing his thought and was in the process of coming to a clearer sense of understanding of Buddhism based on his journey and enlightenment experiences up to this initial trip to the Yuan capital. Heo offers the view that Zhikong's time in the state of Shu engaging in meditation practice for three years was key in the consolidation of his learning, understanding and practice, and it was during that time that Zhikong chose his next destinations, Yunnan and then Guizhou. Heo[387] further holds that Zhikong enlightened the local peoples in those regions, who had Lamaism as their religious basis. Heo conjectures this because Zhikong knew that there were minorities in Shu, Yunnan and Guizhou, and so he decided to go to those areas for the adventure as well as the unique pioneering proselytizing possibilities. He supports his view with the fact that Zhikong stayed in the southwest and southeast region for over seven years and that he was quite successful in spreading Buddhism among the peoples there.

I hesitate to fully ascribe to this rationale. I suggest not only that Zhikong's initial goal was to go to Yunnan and live there, perhaps for his entire life, but also that this goal may have been determined in his youth during the time he was studying at Nālandā in Magadha. Later in this chapter I cite sources that show that there had, for centuries up to Zhikong's time, been frequent and regular political and economic exchanges between Yunnan and Magadha, including trips by Magadha envoys and even kings to Yunnan. While the exact dates at which Zhikong was in many of the places during his journey from Magadha to

[386] Ibid., 33-36.
[387] Heo 1997.

the Yunnan region are unclear with the information available on him so far, in general we can infer when he was in various places through an examination of records from various epitaphs. To follow Zhikong's journey from Tibet to Dadu (Yanjing) to Yunnan I describe in this chapter, use Map 4.

From Tibet to Dadu (Beijing) to Shu

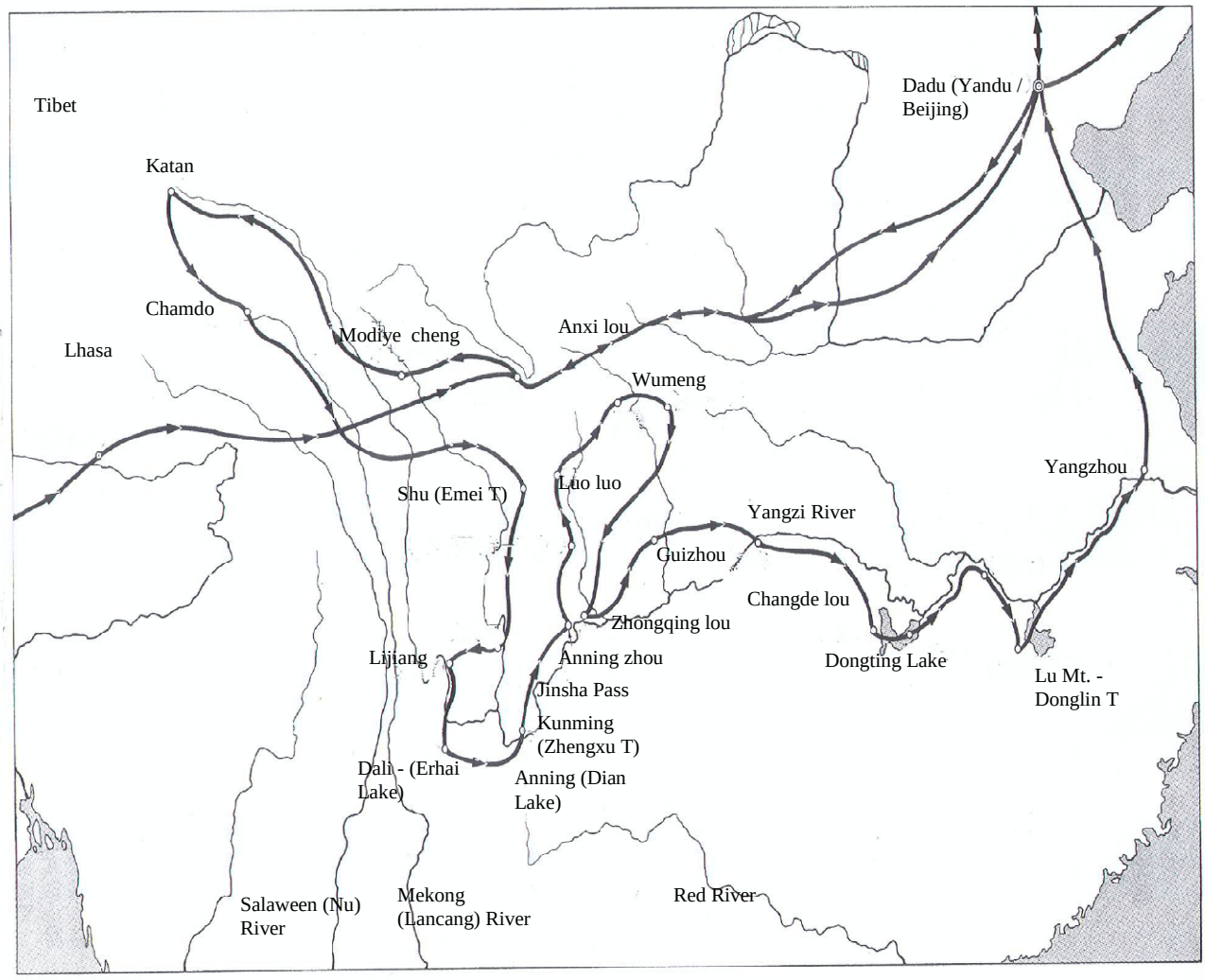
At this point, I return to where I left off at the end of chapter three. I discuss Zhikong's encounters after leaving Dadu in order to maintain the temporal structure of the text and the continuity of this dissertation. This following passage in Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong discusses what he did right after he left Dadu after arriving there with Mahapandit and only staying for a short time. This was probably sometime early in the second decade of the 14th century. As already mentioned, Zhikong's initial descriptions to the original travelogue compiler of the encounters in the upcoming passages occurred in the mid-1320s, twelve years (and perhaps more) after he arrived in Dadu for the second time, in1323.

[I] traveled west to the prefecture of the Anxi king Fuketi. When [we] met together [he] asked [me] to remain there to teach [him] the *Dharma* [but] I was determined to continue on my way. *I spoke to him, saying: "[Buddhism] is, at its root, about compassion, [but the] king's teaching was contrary to this. Why was this so?"*

[Fuke]Ti said: "Sentient beings are born [but] have no beginning to return to [and their] evil deeds are without calculation. [If] I utter merely one "true word" verse, [I] can "transcend [re]birth" and [they will] receive heavenly bliss." I said: "Your words make no sense. Those who murder are always murderers. Birth and death are in mutual opposition, [and] this is the origin of suffering. Ti said: "This is heresy." I said: "Compassion is the true teaching of Buddhism. To oppose this is true heresy."

西遊安西王府。與王傅可提 相見。提請留學法。吾志在周流。
語之曰我道以慈悲為本 子之學　是何. 是何耶。
提言。眾生 無始以來 惡業無算。我以真言一句 度彼超生 受天之樂。吾云。汝言妄也。殺人者亦殺之。生死相讎。是苦之本。提曰。外道也。吾云。慈悲真佛子。反是 真外道.[389]

[388] T.2089. 51, 0984a. This line in italics is found in the version of Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong that Heo uses, but it is absent in the version of Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong in theTaisho edition of the *Buddhist Canon* that Waley used.
[389] T.2089. 51, 0984a.



Map 4: Zhikong's route throughout Yuan China

According to this passage, traveling out of Dadu to the west and arriving at the prefecture of the Anxi (安西) king, Zhikong met with king Fuketi (傅可提) who asked him to remain there and teach him about the main concepts of Buddhism. However, while he was determined to continue going on his way, Zhikong said that for him Buddhism was essentially about "compassion (*cibei* 慈悲)," and that what Ti taught was in opposition to this. When he asked Ti why he was carrying out wrong teachings, Ti's response was that sentient beings are born (into this world) but have no beginning, and carry out incalculable unwholesome deeds over time. However, if one merely uttered only one "True Word" one could save the sentient beings from being reborn and thus they would come to enjoy heavenly bliss. Zhikong told Ti that his words made no sense and that those who murder are always murderers. Life and death are mutually in opposition, and maintaining the mindset of perceiving distinctions is the origin of suffering. Ti said that what Zhikong had just told him was heterodoxy, but Zhikong responded that compassion was the true teaching of Buddhism, and that it was Ti who was the real heretic.

This explication demonstrates that this passage is one of many that support the view that Zhikong was opposed to the idea of a monk's use of "True Words," a practice central in the esoteric school, as a short-cut approach to the dissolution of *karmic* merit that individuals accrue based on their choice of actions that they make. Zhikong showed his understanding and application, via debate, of essential points of classical Theravada Buddhism. These points include the workings of *karma*, the fundamental importance of compassion, the truth of suffering, specifically "birth and death (*shengs*i 生死)," or cyclic existence, and the origin of suffering. The encounter in this passage also implies that, to Zhikong, the sudden approach to deleting accrued *karmic* merit merely by uttering a *mantra*, in order to bring about a beneficial this-worldly result to only benefit oneself,[390] was a heterodox practice. To Zhikong, believing that merely uttering a *mantra* to suddenly and miraculously remove *karmic* merit and "transcend [re]birth

[390] As is demonstrated in other passages I discuss in this chapter and in chapter six, Zhikong was not opposed to the use of *mantra* to help others who were suffering due to natural calamities, such as droughts. As I already mentioned in chapter three, there were instances in which Zhikong applied "mini *paritta* texts" such as *mantra*, in order to alleviate the suffering of others. The key point in his application is that, for a monk, *mantra* are not used for one's own this-worldly benefit, as that would deny the praxis of continuous following of "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" prior to as well as after having the experience of realization.

(*chaosheng* 超生)" was selfish and egoistic. This is because it disassociates one from others, and from their responsibility in interacting with and having compassion for others. Thus, it denies the importance of engaging in a praxis involving others in order to engender compassion. It also denies both the importance of continuous practice that one must be engaged in and the concept of interpenetration. To Zhikong, this reliance on the application of "true words" to suddenly negate one's accrued *karmic* merit was, in effect, a denial of the validity and importance of the "three practices;" the emphasis on the following of precepts (in one's initial stage of practice, to grow in and demonstrate compassion), the practice of meditative concentration, and the cultivation of wisdom based on the experience of sudden realization (to demonstrate compassion without thought of doing so).

The following passage depicts another example of Zhikong's distain for heretical teachings, especially in the form of esotericism of the "*mantra* masters (*zhoushi* 咒師)" in Tibet.

> [The] people [in] Modiye city [in] Tibet were able to be transformed [by Buddhism, but] "*mantra* masters" detested me [and] put poison [in my] tea to drink [but] just then [an] official messenger arrived from [Shang]du. [He] asked me to return [there] together [but I] desired to share proselytizing with master Pandita, [so I] did not agree [to the offer].
>
> [I] also went to Katan [where] the "*mantra* masters" intended to kill me. [So] then, I went to Xia city [where] the ruler was very happy to see me. [However,] the heretics despised me [and] knocked out one of my teeth. When [I] was ready to leave, [I] asked if [I] could be on [my] way. [They] certainly would have killed [me, but] their ruler escorted me [away].
>
> [I] arrived at Shu. [There I] paid respects to an enormous image of Samantabhadra, [and] performed seated "sitting meditation" for three years.
>
> 西蕃摩提耶城 其人可化。咒師疾吾 以毒置茗飲. 適使臣至自都。請吾同還。
> 欲師班特達 互為揚化。不契.
> 又去伽單。咒師欲殺吾. 吾乃去蝦城。主見吾大喜。外道妒之。打折吾一齒.
> 及將去 欲要於路 必殺之。其主護送. 至蜀。禮普賢巨像。坐禪三年.[391]

Although Zhikong would have issues with some of the practices of Tibetan Lamaism (Xizang Lama jiao 西藏喇嘛教) in the Yuan capital throughout this life there, the "*mantra* masters" discussed in this passage should not be taken as referring to Lamaists in and near the Tibetan region. Zhikong accused these "*mantra* masters" in Tibet of trying to make him take some poisoned drink, and other "*mantra* masters" in Katan (Jiadan 伽單), on the eastern border of Tibet, of trying to kill him. Lamaism was the

[391] T.2089. 51, 0984a.

main religion that was supported by the Mongol rulers during the Yuan. As I discuss in chapter five, in the Yuan capital Zhikong would not experience the degree of aggression from the Lamaists there that he did from these "*mantra* masters" while in Tibet. However, it is clear that he had limited interaction with and exposure to Lamaists in the capital. Nonetheless, the existing Chan school sects of Buddhism in the Yuan capital did suffer loss of status as well as property and adherents during the Mongol rule. In fact, even the Daoist schools faired better than the Chan school until late in the Yuan period.

Zhikong then went to Xia city (Xia cheng 蝦城), today's Chamdo in the easternmost frontier area of Tibet, bordering the Yuan. The Xia city ruler was very happy to see him, and protected him from the "*mantra* masters" in that area. It appears that throughout the region the "*mantra* masters" were not afraid of aggressively protecting their interests. The indication in this encounter with the ruler of Xia city is that in the frontier areas of Tibet there were those who had volatile relationships with the "*mantra* masters" and a degree of autonomy from their influence. Thus, this story indicates that in Tibet there were peoples who were receptive to and accepting of different forms of orthodox and heterodox Buddhist teachings.

Zhikong rejected an "official request (*shichen* 使臣)" to return to Shangdu, north of Dadu. It is obvious that during his recent short time at the capital, Zhikong had made quite an impression on government officials, as an official messenger had been sent to him to present the offer to return. However, despite the obvious dangers to him in and around Tibet, Zhikong chose not to return to Shangdu to, as is implied, what promised to be a successful and much easier situation for him. Instead, he continued on his initial plan to "spread the teachings (proselytize) (*yanghua* 揚化)" of Buddhism in the frontier regions where the peoples generally had little opportunity to be exposed to Buddhism. As already mentioned, the clear message here is twofold; that Zhikong actively chose to "teach for conversion (*jiaohua* 敎化)," and that he chose to do this in areas in which spreading Buddhist teachings was difficult if not dangerous to do, yet doing so held great potential for the generation of converts.

In this passage, Shu may refer to the city of Chengdu (成都), but as there are no records that discuss in any detail specifically where in Shu Zhikong spent this three-year period practicing meditation. Zhikong

may have spent this period on Emei Mountain (峨眉山). It is regarded as a sacred mountain. On it is Guangxiang Temple (光相寺), the residence and "place of enlightenment (*puti daochang* 菩提道場)" of Samantabhadra, the *bodhisattva* that represents practice and meditation.[392] That was likely the place he spent three years doing sitting meditation.

As I discuss in detail in the following section, there had for centuries been ties and exchanges between Magadha and Yunnan and the Shu-Ba (蜀巴) region,[393] what was mainly today's Sichuan province. Zhikong spent three years in Shu deepening his practice of meditation, from around 1312 to 1315. He would then spend up to the next five to seven years in Yunnan, mostly at Zhengxu Temple. These two extended stays suggest that there may exist yet-unfound primary source materials in Yunnan and Sichuan that could offer more insight into why he spent so many years in this region. After the following section, I translate and discuss the primary source textual support materials associated with Zhikong that suggest that the southern Chan school was not only well-established in Yunnan by the time he arrived there, but that the source of the Chan tradition in Yunnan had come from the state of Shu.

The Historical Context of Magadha's Ties with the Shu-Ba Region and Yunnan

After leaving Shu, Zhikong entered Yunnan. He spent up to seven years there, including traveling to and being in Guizhou. Because records of Zhikong's life in his home state of Magadha have yet to be found there, the only primary sources about his life in his home state of Magadha prior to arriving in Yuan China were written in the Yuan and Goryeo, in Chinese. In addition, all of these materials were written decades after he was born. The earliest known primary source material that mentions Zhikong is from Zhengxu Temple, written in 1321. However, pieces of circumstantial evidence could suggest that, as a member of the royal family in Magadha, Zhikong knew from an early age, or certainly could have been expected to know, that he would travel to the east, and also that it would be as far as to the Yunnan region.

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[392] Emei Mountain in Sichuan is one of the three auspicious mountains in China. Two of its peaks are said to be like a "moth's eyebrows (*emei* 峨眉)." The monastery at the top is Guangxiang Temple, where Samantabhadra resides. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

[393] The 14th century states of Shu (蜀) and Ba (巴) comprised what is today's Sichuan.

As recorded in the various copies of Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong as well as in the *Chanyao lu*, Zhikong was able to speak the language of at least one of the many minority peoples in Yunnan, and did so while there. This is important, because it is directly expressed in these and other primary sources that Zhikong could not speak or read Chinese well, despite the fact that he lived for up to almost four decades in and around the Yuan capital. Other circumstantial evidence that he knew that at some point in his life that he would be expected to travel to the Yunnan area, and that he even might have prepared to do so during his life in Magadha, is that historically Yunnan and Magadha had been engaged in royal and economic exchanges for centuries, and these exchanges continued up to and during the time Zhikong was in Yunnan.

As I introduced in earlier chapters, primary sources verify Magadha's centuries-long ties with Yunnan and the Sichuan region prior to Zhikong's journey and stay there. Bin Yang discusses the contributions of the so-called Southwest Silk Road,[394] from Southwest China via Burma to India. The portion of this route in Yunnan connected the historically significant cities of Kunming (昆明), near Dian Lake, and Dali (大理), near Erhai Lake, to northeastern India, including Zhikong's home state of Magadha. For centuries, Yunnan was the nucleus of the Southwest Silk Road, and the city of Dali was the key hub point. One specific leg of the Southwest Silk Road directly linked Yunnan with Magadha.[395] In addition, in 621, a diplomatic mission to the Kunming peoples of western Yunnan was sent to Magadha, headed by the Tang

[394] The Southwest Silk Road has many referents, including Southern Silk Road (Xinan Sichou zhilu 西南 絲綢之路), Southern Overland Route (Nanfang Lushang zhilu 南方陸上 之路), South Silk Road (Nanfang shizhou zhilu 南方絲綢之路), Ancient Roads Connecting Yunnan, Burma, and India (Dian-Mian-Yin Gudao 滇緬印 古道), The Road Between Sichuan and India (Shu-Yandu dao 蜀燕都 道), The Road of Shu Cloth (Shubuzhilu 蜀布之道), and Ancient Road of Tea and Horses Between Yunnan and Tibet (Dianzang Cha-ma Gudao 滇藏 茶馬 古道). Bin Yang's research on this particular route of the many Silk Road routes from Central Asia to East Asia has been overshadowed in research by studies on the overland Silk Road and the maritime Silk Road, both of which are northerly routes. See Bin Yang, "Horses, Silver, and Cowries: Yunnan in Global Perspective," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 3 (2004).

[395] This leg is recorded in the 10th century in the *New Tang History* and in many official and pro-official histories of the Yunnan and Shu-Ba regions. See Guoyu Fang, "Ancient Communication between Yunnan, Burma and India (Yunnan yu Yindu Miandian zhi Gudai Jiaotong)," in *Works of Fang Guoyu* 4, ed. Chaomin Lin (Kunming: Yunnan Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2001), 338-369; Hanyong Feng, "The Sichuan-Tibet Route: The Earliest International Road in Southwest China (Chuanzangxian shi Xi'nan Zuizao Guoji Tongdao Kao)," *China Tibetology* (*Zhongguo Zangxue*) 5 (1988): 147–156; Paul Pelliot, *Deux itineraires de Chine en Inde à lapu du VIII e Siecle* (*Jiaoguangyindu Yindu Liangdao kao*), trans. Chengjun Feng (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1955); Gengwang Yan, "A Study of the Communication between Yunnan and Vietnam During the Han and Chin Dynasties (Hanjin Shidai Dianyue Tongdao Kao)," *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the University of Hong Kong* 8, no. 1 (1976); and Xu Shen "Communications between Yunnan and Tibet in History (Lishi shang de Dianzang Jiaotong)," ed. Southwest China Cultural Studies, *Yunnan Social Science Institute* 3, Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Press (1998): 100-128.

official from the Sichuan outpost of Suizhou.[396] These resources affirm how Magadha royalty had been closely associated with the Yunnan region for centuries up to the time of Zhikong.

According to the preeminent scholar on Yunnan, Joseph Rock,[397] in 280 B.C.E., a descendent of King Zhuang (莊王, 613-591 B.C.E.), General Zhuang Qiao (莊蹻) of the state of Chu (楚), was sent to conquer the territory to the west of Shu and Ba, to explore the Qiang River (today's Yangzi), and to seize the territory he called Dian (滇), which is today's Yunnan.[398] Rock writes that long before Zhuang Qiao established the Dian kingdom in sometime around 298 to 297 B.C.E., Indian princes ruled the western part of the region, which is today's western Yunnan. The oldest name of this area[399] ruled by India was Kingdom of Excellent Fragrance (Miaoxiang Guo 妙香國). Rock cites the *History of the Nanzhao* (*Nanzhao Yeshi* 南詔野史) that records that King Ayu (阿育王) was also known as Piaozu Di (驃苴低), "the Indian Asoka, King of Magadha (Mojie Guo 摩竭國)."[400] King Ayu's descendant became the ruler of the Baizi kingdom (白子國), which was in the western part of today's Yunnan.[401] The Meng clan (蒙氏) is another example of the longtime connection between Magadha and Yunnan.[402]

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[396] This enabled the Tang in 621 C.E. to establish the first frontier prefecture in Yunnan, in Yaozhou (姚州), which is today's Yaoan, located midway between Kunming and Dali. See Charles Backus, *The Nan-chao Kingdom and T'ang China's Southwestern Frontie*r (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 8-16; John E. Herman. "Amid the Clouds and Mist: China's Conquest of a Southern Kingdom, 1250-1750," unpublished manuscript, p. 51-66.

[397] Joseph F. Rock, *The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of Southwest China – Volume 1* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947), 5-8.

[398] After doing so and upon his return to Chu, Zhuang Qiao found it had been attacked by the state of Qin (秦), so he remained in Dian and proclaimed himself the king of the state of Dian (滇國). Rock asserts that the *Nanzhao Yeshi* (p. 271) gives the date of the founding (and naming) of the kingdom of Dian by Zhuang Qiao as 220 C.E. He would have had to be 100 years old for this to be true. This text is known to include dates and figures that are more legendary than historical. Nonetheless, the extent of the historical ties between the Yunnan region and Magadha in terms of diplomatic and economic exchanges are documented.

[399] This includes today's Dali prefecture (大理府) or Dali county (大理縣). During the Han dynasty, what is today's Dali was called Ye (楪), and must have been a much larger area. The name first appears in 109 B.C.E. See Rock 1947, 49.

[400] Rock 1947, 7.

[401] King Ayu's son Dimengju (低蒙苴) fathered nine sons. Dimengju's first born, Meng Zhifuluo (蒙苴附羅), became the ancestor of the sixteen kingdoms. Dimengju's eighth son, Meng Zhisong (蒙苴頌), was the ancestor of Renguo (仁果) of the Baizi kingdom (白子國). Renguo was also the descendent of King Baifan (白飯王) of India (Tianzhu Guo 天竺國). King Baifan was thus the originator of the Baizi Kingdom.The capital of the Baizu kingdom was Baiya (白崖), which is today's Hongya (紅崖) in the western part of Yunnan, and southeast of Dali. See Rock 1947, 50-51.

[402] In 649 C.E., the 17th descendent of Zhang Longyouna, named Zhang Lejinqiu (張樂進求), was allied with the Tang with the title of "Grand Marshal Commander-in-Chief (Shouling Dajiangjun 首領大將軍)." Zhang Lejinqiu asked for permission to abdicate in favor of Xinuluo (細奴邏) of the local Meng clan (蒙氏). The Meng family had originally come from the Ailao barbarians. Zhang Lejinqiu's daughter married Meng Xinuluo (蒙細奴邏), who was the 36th generation descendent of Meng Zhudu (蒙苴篤), the fifth son of Dimengzhu (低蒙苴), a son of King Ayou (阿育), or Asoka, the king of Magadha. Xinuluo called himself King Jijia (寄嘉王), the Mysterious and Admirable King, as he was known to possess strange and lucky signs. He

According to Rock, at the foot of Chaping Mountain (插屏山), a part of the famous Chicken Foot Mountain[403] (Jizu Shan 雞足山) which is located northeast of Dali Lake in Yunnan, Mu Zeng built a temple named Kāśyapa Hall (Jiaye Dian 迦葉殿), dedicated to that disciple of Buddha who is the first patriarch of the Chan school. Also, according to the *New Tang History* (*Xin Tang shu*),[404] during the Tang period there was a road from Suizhou that went through the district of Changming (昌明縣). That road through Changming district continued southwest to the district of Yanyuan, which was under the control of Suizhou, and then continued through the territories of Dali (Xier 西洱), in western Yunnan, and on to India (Tianzhu 天竺). This leg of that road, from western Yunnan to India, was the Southwest Silk Road. The city of Dali has been the southwest gateway into China along the Southwest Silk Route, the passage from southwest China to ancient India, for well over two thousand years. Yang[405] discusses the contributions of the tentacle of the Southwest Silk Road that most directly linked Annam with India. This tentacle was referred to as Dianzhu,[406] and it directly linked Yunnan (and the Shu-Ba region) with Magadha. This tentacle and the routes remained relatively unchanged from their earliest recordings as they utilized mountain passes and rivers.

Esoteric Buddhism in the Shi-Ba Region and Yunnan Prior to Zhikong

As previously discussed, Zhikong spent three years practicing "sitting meditation (*zuochan* 坐禪)" in front of a huge Buddhist statue of Samantabhadra from about 1312 to 1315. There is wide primary source textual support for the position that Mahayana Buddhism had already long been in the region. Of the forms of Buddhism there, I focus on the historical context of Indian esotericism and tantrism. The

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named his new kingdom the Great Meng Kingdom (Da Meng Guo 大蒙國). See *Nanzhao Yeshi*, in Rock 1947, 9; and Helen B. Chapen and Alexander C. Soper, *A Long Roll of Buddhist Images*. (Ascona, 1971), 10-41.

[403] Chicken Foot Mountain, also known as Jiuqu Mountain (九曲山), has a summit shaped like a lotus flower. It is a famous sacred Buddhist mountain and was named after the mountain in India with the same name. The Chicken Foot Mountain in India is known as the abode of Mahākāśyapa (Mohe jiayebo 摩訶迦葉波), Buddha's disciple and native of Magadha. As it was thought that Mahākāśyapa came to live on that mountain in 1931, all the Tibetans in the region go there on pilgrimages. See Rock 1947, 160.

[404] See Rock 1947, 447.

[405] Bin Yang 2004.

[406] Feng 1988, 147–156; and Shen Xu 1998, 100–128.

research by Michael Oppitz and Elizabeth Hsu[407] shows that the Nanzhao (南詔) kingdom (738-902 C.E.) introduced Mahayana Buddhism into the region. According to Gungwu Wang, during the Nanzhao (and Dali) kingdom period (738-1252 C.E.), the route from India through Dian, or what is Yunnan today, and to the Shu-Ba region, today's Sichuan, experienced a great increase the number of pilgrimages as well as in the trade of Buddhist holy objects.[408] King Longshun (隆舜, r. 877-897 C.E.) was a key figure in the formal adoption of Buddhism as the state-supported religion by the Nanzhao.[409] Longshun adopted titles such as Maharaja (Moheluocuo 摩訶羅嵯),[410] suggesting his desire to achieve status of a Buddhist "Universal Monarch (Cakravartin)" ideal.[411]

Esoteric Buddhism had also become established by the 9th century C.E. in the Shu-Ba (Sichuan) and Yunnan regions during the Nanzhao kingdom period. Howard's research demonstrates that Esoteric

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[407] Michael Oppitz and Elizabeth Hsu , ed. *Naxi and Moso Ethnography: Kin, Rites, Pictographs* (Zurich: Vokkerkundemuseum Zurich, 1998), 11.

[408] Gungwu Wang, "The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 31 (1958), 46-47.

[409] Linzan Li (李霖燦), "Nanzhao de Longshun huangdi yu 'Moheluocuo' minghao kao (南詔的隆舜皇帝与摩訶羅嵯名號考)," 慶祝李濟先生七十歲論文集 1 Taibei (1965): 158.

An indication of the Nanzhao kingdom's acceptance of Buddhism is apparent in the Tang choice of a Buddhist monk as envoy to Nanzhao in 876 C.E., in order to patch up relations. The Buddhist monk Jingxian (景仙) had supposedly been involved in the design of the Chengdu wall. See *Zizhi Tongjian* (資治通鑑, *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government*), compiled by Sima Guang (司馬光) *et al*. (1065 C.E.) (Reprint of 1956 Beijing edition) (Taibei: Minglun zhuban shi) 252, 8185; and *Xin Tang Shu* (新唐書, *New Tang History*), (1060 C.E.), Compiled by Ouyang Xiu (歐陽修) and Song Qi (宋祁) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975) 224b, 6393-4.

Jingxian was chosen as envoy to Nanzhao in the 876 C.E. mission. Former envoys had not been treated with mutual respect by Nanzhao rulers, who remained seated when the envoys bowed to them. The Tang officials in Chengdu knew that the members of the Nanzhao court were devout Buddhists, and the court's respectful treatment of Jingxian and the reestablishment of Tang diplomatic forms by the Nanzhao demonstrated this to be true (*Zizhi Tongjian* 252, 8185-6). The year 877 saw the beginning of a new and final period of diplomatic relations between Tang and Nanzhao that were not undermined by military campaigns. See Backus 1982, 154.

[410] Maharaja is one of the four heavenly kings, or guardian gods, who protect the four quarters of the universe.

[411] Chapen. and Soper 1971, 72; and Backus 1982, 160.

During the reign of king Quan Fengyou (勸豐祐, 823-859 C.E.) and throughout the 9th century, many key and religiously-inspired architectural structures were built. Most of the sources on these developments are from post-Song Chinese sources. The Tower of Five Glories (Wuhua Lou 五華樓) and many Buddhist temples were built throughout Yunnan, including the Chongsheng temple (崇聖寺) and its pagodas which still stand today near modern Dali, all under the patronage of the Nanzhao court. This period of construction of mainly Buddhist-inspired buildings can be seen as a reflection of the acceptance of Buddhism by the Nanzhao kingdom, as its state religion according to Fujisawa Yoshimi, during the first half of the 9th century. Prior to the introduction of Buddhism in the 7th century (and possibly even earlier than that via contacts with India), the peoples of Yunnan appear to have had a shamanistic orientation that centered on the forces in nature and the need to pacify ancestral spirits. This shamanistic orientation was not displaced by Buddhism at least until the 9th century, despite stories indicative of a superficial overlay of Buddhism such as a legend of the brother of Geluo Feng who supposedly was a Buddhist priest with magical powers that he used against the Tang armies in the 750s and of the Nanzhao kings' genealogy spuriously tracing back to Ashoka. See Chapin and Sopher 1971; Backus 1982, 128-129; Yoshimi Fujisawa (藤澤義美), "Nansho koku no Bukkyo ni tsuite (南詔國の佛教に就いて)" *Toyo shigaku ronshu* (東洋史学論集), Tokyo 1 (1953): 131-154; Jiarui Xu (徐嘉瑞), "Nanzhao chuqi zongjiao kao (南詔初期宗教考)" *Dongfang zazhi* (東方雜誌) 41 (1945), 34-42.; Jiarui Xu, "Nanzhao houqi zongjiao kao (南詔後期宗教考)" *Dongfang zazhi* (東方雜誌) 42 (1946), 42-53; and *Xin Tang Shu* 222c, 6306-14.

Buddhism arrived from Tang China early in the 8th century.[412] Howard[413] asserts that a form of esoteric Buddhism called Azhali (阿吒力) came to be the dominant sect of the esoteric school in Yunnan. Howard also suggests that the Azhali sect of esoteric Buddhism was grafted onto preexisting shamanistic beliefs of the Nanzhao people, as they perceived the incantations, powers and control of events through magic as similar to those of indigenous shamans. Another reference is the association of the *acharyal* or *azhali* with the "great adepts (*mahasiddha*)"[414] who had been originally active in India and then in Tibet. The term "*mahasiddha*" refers to famous tantric masters who engaged in impromptu rather than disciplined and structured methods of realizing enlightenment. Their study contrasted somewhat with those in the monastic universities such as Nālandā studied.[415] In their behavior, these "great adepts" did not necessarily follow conventional rules of Buddhism, such as being celibate or living their lives in a monastery. Nonetheless, they were presented as having mastered supernatural powers and may have been accepted in Yunnan as local shamans.[416] Other textual references support the assertion that the Azhali sect and Esoteric Buddhism were prominent in the region during the Nanzhao period. Linzan Li writes that *The Illustrated History of the Nanzhao*[417] records how an Indian monk, perceived by the locals to be the incarnation of *Avalokitêśvara*, came to the Nanzhao house of Meng to announce that this family would ascend to the throne. The monk then gave the Meng family an image of Acuoye Guanyin (阿嵯耶觀音), the talisman of the local ruler.

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[412] Angela F. Howard, "The Dharani Pillar of Kunming, Yunnan. A Legacy of Esoteric Buddhism and Burial Rites of the Bai People in the Kingdom of Dali (937-1253)" *Artibus Asiae* 57, no. 1/2, 1997, 33-72.

In 714 C.E., the envoy of the Nanzhao king Shengluopi (盛邏皮) arrived at the Tang court and was received by emperor Xuan Zong. See Jing Li (李京), "A Brief Account of [14th century] Yunnan (*Yunnan zhilue* 雲南誌略)," in *Yunnan difangzhi Fojiao suobian* (雲南地方志佛教資料瑣編). Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanche, 1986; Daozong Zhang (張道宗), "*Ji Gu Dian Shuo* (記古滇說)," (1265) in *Yunnan difangzhi Fojiao suobian* (雲南地方志佛教資料瑣編). Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanche, 1986.

The envoy was given an image of Buddha to take back to Nanzhao. See *Yunnan difangzhi Fojiao suobian* 1986, 15.

[413] There are 9th century carvings on the Shizhongshan grotto (石钟山 石窟) near Jianquan, as well as on the rocks of Boshenwahei (博什瓦黑) near Xichang (西昌) in today's Sichuan, that depict foreign monks known as *acharya* (*azhali*). Howard 1997, 42-45.

[414] They were also referred to as "great perfected beings."

[415] Marylin M. Rhis and Robert A.F. Thurman, *Wisdom and Compassion* (New York: Harry Abrams Inc., 1991).

[416] Backus 1981, 24-45; T.A. Marks, "Nanzhao and Tibet in South-Western China and Central Asia," *Tibet Journal* 4, (1977): 3-26; Dalie Guo, "Tangdai Tufan de Nanxia yu Nanzhao de jueqi," in *Nanzhao wenhua lun* (南詔文化論), ed. Yang Zhonglu *et al*. (Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1991), 147-160.

[417] Linzan Li, "Illustrated History of the Nanzhao (Nanzhao tujuan 南詔圖卷)" 慶祝李濟先生七十歲論文集 1, Taibei (1965), 128-137.

Angela Howard references the record of the monk Candragupta (Zantuojueduo 贊陀掘多), considered the founder of local indigenized esoteric Buddhism in Yunnan.[418] In either 828 or 839 C.E. Candragupta arrived in what is today Hequing (鶴慶) county in Yunnan, which was about 100 kilometers north of today's Dali, from his native Magadha, and built a temple there to proselytize. Among magical works associated with him, which were incorporated into Bai legends, is the story of how he miraculously prevented the cultivated rice fields from being inundated by an overflowing lake.

Further evidence of the extent of influence of Indian Esoteric Buddhism on Yunnan Buddhism dating back to the Nanzhao kingdom is found in the translations of and commentaries on Sanskrit inscriptions from Yunnan by Liebenthal.[419] Chapin[420] suggests that the most pervasive Chinese art influence in Yunnan in the 11th and 12th centuries C.E. was from the Tang period, due to the fact that the Indian affinity in images is very strong. Chapin also posits the presence of Tantric Buddhism in Yunnan in the 12th century and probably earlier. She asserts that it was not predominant but existed alongside Chan and other forms of Buddhism.

It is clear that the Esoteric Buddhist tradition was established and prominent in Yunnan in the 9th century during the Nanzhao period, long before Zhikong had his extended stays in Sichuan (Shu-Ba) and Yunnan within the first two decades of the 14th century. These examples of the sects, expressions and forms of Buddhism that had been accepted and had become a part of the local religious milieu show that these regions had a history of accepting aspects or elements of the type of Buddhism that Zhikong would bring.

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[418] In Bai legends, Candragupta is presented as having come from Tibet. See *Baizu shenhua chuanshuo jicheng* (白族神化傳說集成, *Collection of Myths and Legends of the Baizu People*) (北京: 中国民间文艺出版社, 新华书店北京发行所发行), 1986, 294-306; *Nanzhao yeshi* (南詔野史, *Unofficial History of Nanzhao*), compiled by Yang Shen 楊慎 (1551) and revised by Hu Wei 胡蔚 (1775), in C. Sainson, trans. *Histoire particuliere du Nan-tchao* (*Nan-tchao ye che*) (Paris, 1904), 50, 54. (reprinted in *Yunnan beizhengzhi*. Taibei, 1966); *Yunnan Tongzhi*, 355; and Howard 1997, 43-44.

[419] Walter Liebenthal, "Sanskrit Inscriptions from Yunnan I (and the Dates of Foundation of the Main Pagodas in that Province)" *Monumenta Serica* XII (1947): 1-40.

[420] The images are based on Indian prototypes, possibly as far back as the 7th century. Indian Tantric images dating to the 9th century C.E. have also been found in Yunnan, suggesting the influence of Buddhist art from the Pala dynasty (8th to 11th century C.E.) in Bengal, which was predominatly Tantric. See Helen B. Chapin, "Yunnanese Images of Avalokitesvara" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8 (1944-45): 137-139.

In the following section, my translations and discussions of Zhikong's encounters with peoples in the Sichuan and Yunnan regions demonstrate that qualities that he exemplified had also been historically valued by the peoples in those regions. These aspects include valorization of religious figures who demonstrated the "spiritual resonance (*gantong* 感通)" of a "thaumaturge (*gudao fuzhou* 蠱道符呪)," who utilized "mystical invocations" to help others and also to teach them about and guide them to Buddhism, who did not necessarily follow conventionally-accepted rules of Buddhism, who demonstrated an understanding of Buddhist philosophy in discourses, and who proved to be masters of meditation. I show that Zhikong exemplified all of these.

Zhikong Enters and Lives in the Yunnan Region

After leaving Shu, the next entry in Zhikong's travelogue shows that he encountered Luoluo (羅羅) people, who were also referred to with another derogatory term "barbarians (Yi 夷)," in their territory near the Jinsha River (金沙河). Primary source materials in the Yuan, in fact throughout most of the Imperial China era, about the Lijiang (麗江) region and Yunnan in general, especially those written by Confucian educated scholar-officials in the capital, tend to lump the number of minority peoples together under certain designations. The designations Luoluo or Yi were often used as stock terms for any "barbarian" tribe there. Therefore, in order to be more precise in determining which group that an individual that Zhikong interacted with might have belonged to, a description of that individual and the context of the encounter is required.

Arriving at the Jinsha River put Zhikong in the upper Yangzi River area and in the region around Lijiang in northwestern Yunnan. The research of You Zhong[421] and Chavannes[422] shows that the three types of peoples living in Lijiang in the 13th and 14th centuries were the Mosuo (摩沙 Mosha), Luoluo and Lisu (傈僳), and none of them was Buddhist. You Zhong writes that the Luoluo had shamans, and the

[421] Zhong You, "The Naxi and Lisu Nationalities during the Yuan, Ming and Qing periods (Yuan Ming Qing Shiqi de Naxizu he Lisuzu)" *Yunnan Shehui Kexue* (雲南社會科學) 3 (1986): 61-65.
[422] Edouard Chavannes, "Documents Historiques et Geographiques Relatifs a Likiang" *T'oung Pao* 13 (1912): 611. This is from Chavannes' translation of chapter 61 of the *Yuan Shi* (*Yuan History*).

Mosuo engaged in huge feasts of merit and worshipped heaven on mountaintops. According to Shih,[423] the Moso native religion was (and still is) Ddabasim, a combination of ancestral, spirit and nature worship. Concerning sacrificial rituals, live animals were used.[424] The following passage from Zhikong's travelogue depicts these activities.

> In the territory of the Luoluo [people], there was a monk who gave [me] a meditation robe [and] a woman who gave [me] a small coat. Then, patrons held a [ceremonial] meal for the monk. The monk obtained a "liberated for merit" goose [and] wanted to cook and then eat it. I hit his wife [and] she shouted. [The] monk was angered at seeing [this and] expelled [me away].
>
> I heard [that] local officials molded clay figurines of me [and at times of] droughts or epidemics [they] had to prayed [to the figurines]. [At the] Jinsha River pass, a frontier official saw me wearing the woman's coat and with long hair. [He] thought [it] strange and asked [me] where [I] was from. I spoke but [he] could not understand [my] language [so I] wrote in Sanskrit script, [but] also [he] did not understand [me]. So, [I] remained there. [In the] evening I crouched down in a space in the stone riverbank. Unconsciously, [and] in a short time, [I] "reached the other shore." The ferryman was amazed and paid respects to me.

> 羅羅斯地界。有僧施一禪被。有女施一小衣。乃應檀家 供同齋僧 得放生鵝。欲烹而食之。吾擊其婦。婦哭。僧怒 見逐。
>
> 吾聞土官 塑吾像。水旱疾疫 禱必應。金沙河關 吏見吾婦人衣 髮又長。怪而問奚自. 吾言語不通。書西天字。又非所知也。於是留之. 晚隈石隙而臥。不覺少間 至彼岸。渡子異吾禮拜.[425]

In the encounters in this passage, Zhikong was interacting with local minority people with whom he had communication issues. They acted as though they had not seen a person like him before. In the first encounter, Zhikong interacted with a monk at a ceremonial meal sponsored by "patrons (*tanjia* 檀家)," so the implication is that he was a Buddhist monk. However, this monk was married and wanted to eat meat. In addition, the monk seemed to understand and participate in, but did not seem to respect, the Buddhist custom of allowing a saved animal to roam free as a demonstration of "compassion (*cibei* 慈悲)" and the "one is all (*yiji yiqie* 一卽一切)" conceptualization of the interconnectedness of all sentient beings. In this case, it was a "liberated for merit (*fangsheng* 放生)" goose. Zhikong was upholding one of the most

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[423] Chuan-kang Shih, "Morturary Rituals and Symbols Among the Moso," in *Naxi and Moso Ethnography: Kin, Rites, Pictographs*, ed. Michael Oppitz and Elizabeth Hsu (Zurich: Vokkerkundemuseum Zurich, 1998), 103-125.

[424] Live animals have been substituted in sacrificial rituals by straw effigies and ritual figurines made of dough, perhaps since the introduction of Tibetan Buddhism in the 16th century. The implication is that prior to the introduction of Tibetan Buddhism in the region, live animals and ritual figurines of people were used. See Christine Mathieu, "The Moso Ddaba religious specialists," in *Naxi and Moso Ethnography: Kin, Rites, Pictographs*, ed. Michael Oppitz and Elizabeth Hsu (Zurich: Vokkerkundemuseum Zurich, 1998), 209-234.

[425] T.2089. 51, 0984a.

fundamental of the “five precepts” of all Buddhists; the “precept forbidding the taking of life (*bu shasheng jie* 不殺生戒).” Zhikong hit the monk’s wife as his response to the monk’s desire to cook and eat the goose. This angered the monk, who then sent Zhikong away. It appears that the monk was a member of the Mosuo tribe. With this encounter, Zhikong experienced an indigenized form of Buddhism that had obvious local customs grafted onto it.

The passage also indicates that the Mosuo people worshiped images of charismatic individuals, those who were associated with the performance of miracles. It was probably the local officials of the Mosuo people that “molded (clay) figurines (*suxiang* 塑像)” of Zhikong to pray to in the event of a flood or drought or epidemic. An official saw the ragged and long-haired Zhikong wearing the woman’s coat he had received, and found that he could not communicate with him. This is another example of Zhikong not following specific *vinaya* precepts pertaining to proper care of personal appearance. He was not wearing his robe, or was covering it with a woman’s coat, and he had not kept his hair cut. However, he had strongly just enforced the precept of not taking life, and had done so in a rather aggressive expression of compassion. This passage reiterates Zhikong’s flexible, situation-specific and personal enactment of “the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts.”

In the final encounter in this passage, Zhikong had another experience of illumination. The exact expression used for this is the same one used after Zhikong’s encounter with the snake-spirit as an old man in the Sindh desert. While waiting for the ferryboat to arrive, he suddenly “reached the other shore (*dao bian* 到彼岸),” or experienced an instance of realization. And, like the people who had come into the cave Zhikong was meditating in after seeing light emanating from it, the ferryman acknowledged Zhikong’s “achievement.” The message is that even in this region of barbarians, there was Buddhism in some form, as well as people that were able to be transformed by Buddhism through their interaction with an individual with “spiritual resonance” such as Zhikong. This implies that it was charisma and magic, not explication of Buddhist teachings, that were needed to impress these “barbarian” peoples and guide them toward accepting Buddhism.

I have reversed the order of the following two passages as they appear in the copies of the travelogue of Zhikong text. As mentioned before, the order of some of the passages in this text do not match what had to have been the temporal or geographical structure of Zhikong's journey. In this case, due to the limitation in routes through Yunnan because of the geography of the region, Zhikong had to have been in Dali before he was in Kunming. So, I describe and discuss his encounters in Dali first, in the following passage.

> [In the] state of Dali, I turned down all the delicious food offered [to me and] ate only nine walnuts a day. The Jinchi, Wuche and Wumeng peoples formed one aboriginal tribe, and they revered [me] as their master [and] make clay figurines [of me] and worshipped [them] in [their] shrines. I hear troublemakers knocked [the figurines'] Chan staffs to the ground but could not pick [them] up. Due to that occurrence, [they] regretted [their actions] and apologized, [and then] put [them] back.
>
> 大理國 吾卻眾味。但食胡桃九枚度日。金齒烏撒烏蒙 一部落也。禮吾為師。塑像廟之。吾聞無賴子 以吾像禪棒擲之地。而不能舉。悔謝取安如故.[426]

While he was living in Yunnan, Zhikong continued to build his reputation among the many indigenous peoples and tribes there by carrying out ascetic practices such as meditating and eating very little. The implication is that these activities augmented Zhikong's "spiritual resonance" in their eyes. They accepted him as a religious figure in their own way by "molding (clay) figurines (*suxiang* 塑像)" of him, to use as the foci of their ritual worship activity. The well-known Chan symbol, the staff, was a part of the statues, implying that these peoples knew of Chan and its power. The peoples were not without members who expressed their dissent concerning the idolization of Zhikong or of (Chan) elements of his Buddhist teachings that the group came to accept into their ritual activity and symbolism. However, there is a clear implication concerning those that had destroyed the statues but could not pick up the Chan staffs and therefore apologized. It is that even dissenters were persuaded by members of their tribe that even the statues of Zhikong contained "spiritual resonance" and powers.

The following passage offers further indications of Zhikong's "spiritual resonance."

> To the west of Yunnan city, there was a temple. [In the] room above the gate [I] "entered meditative concentration." A monk living [there] asked [me] to enter the city. [I] arrived at Zubian Temple [and] sat [meditating] under a tree. It rained at night [but] when it cleared up [my] clothes

[426] T.2089. 51, 0984b.

were not wet. At the provincial office [I] prayed for clear weather [and my prayer was] immediately answered. I [attended the] "summer meditation retreat" [at] Longquan Temple [and there I] copied the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit. [The people of] the assembly [of the temple] lacked water [so] I instructed the dragon to draw water to aid the people.

雲南城西有寺。上門樓入定。居僧請入城。至祖變寺。坐桐樹下。是夜雨。既明 衣不濡。赴其省 祈晴立應。坐夏龍泉寺。書梵字般若經。眾聚乏水。吾命龍 引泉濟眾.[427]

In this passage, Yunnan city refers to the city of Kunming, which is located at the northern tip of Dian Lake in southern Yunnan. Zhikong had gone as far south as he would in Yunnan, and was now traveling eastward along the Southern Silk Route. Longquan Temple (龍泉寺) no longer exists, but its "former site (*jiuzhi* 旧址)" is in the old city of Kunyang (昆阳), which is still near Kunming today.[428] As he spent the "summer meditation retreat (*zuoxia* 坐夏)" and copied the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* at Longqwuan Temple, one can deduce that Zhikong spent at least a number of months in this area. Zhikong continued to add to his fame as a thaumaturge whose powers were augmented by the depth of his practice of "entering meditative concentration (*ruding* 入定)." Subtle miracles, like his clothes staying dry in the rain, and what could be construed as a coincidence of his praying for clear weather and having the rain stop immediately, are contrasted with the more unbelievable miracle of Zhikong successfully making a dragon divert water to a dry well. The cumulative effect is validation of Zhikong's "spiritual resonance."

Zhikong continued to perform the types of classic miracles associated with being a thaumaturge, and he chose and utilized the elements of Buddhism that he knew would appeal to the peoples in this area. As long as he continued with his Buddhist teaching and practice, but adapted it so as to be receptive by the peoples he met, he was sure to be successful in his proselytization. In the following section, I discuss a passage and its translation of the relevant portion of a "stele inscription (*beiji* 碑記)" written in 1321 to commemorate the completion of the construction of Zhengxu Chan Temple (正續禪寺), which was north of Kunming in Yunnan. The text of this inscription is recorded in a Wuding gazetteer, and appears in a

[427] T.2089. 51, 0984b.
[428] In his maps, Heo (1997) puts Zubain Temple and Longquan Temple north and northeast, respectively, of Lijiang. However, Longquan Temple was in the old city of Kunyang, with exists near today's Kunming (formerly referred to at Yunnan city). Rock asserts that, until at least 1263 C.E., both Kunming and Kunyang were one city, called Sanchan (鄯闡), which Rock writes in English as Shan-shan. I propose that Zubian Temple was also in Sanchan.

journal article written in 1995 by Xuezheng Yang.[429] Zhikong co-founded and oversaw the completion of the temple construction. Outside of his decades in the Yuan capital, the up to five years Zhikong spent at Zhengxu Temple represents the longest period of time he spent at any one place in East Asia.

Zhikong Helps Found and Construct Zhengxu Temple near Kunming

There is textual support associated with Zhikong that the southern Chan school was well-established in Yunnan by the time he arrived. Sometime near 1315, Zhikong co-founded and completed the construction of Zhengxu Chan Temple, and spent up to five years there. Zhengxu Temple is located in Wuding (武定) on Lion Mountain (Shi shan 狮山), which is located northwest of Kunming.[430]

The following passage is my translation of the relevant portion of the "stele inscription" text that commemorates the completion, under Zhikong's guidance, of the construction of Zhengxu Chan Temple. This inscription was written in 1321 by Bideng Chao (晁必登).

> The state of Nanzhao favored Buddhism. This situation lasted a long time. But there were 27 tribal groups with vulgar customs. [They] enjoyed killing people and distained death. Although teachers and virtuous persons went to visit the people's homes often to see them, to pull their ears and admonish them, the people persisted in holding fast [to their beliefs], and they were not repentant. They were without the condition to be transformed. Wu Ding has one such tribal group.
>
> The mountains are precipitous and the rivers are dangerous; the people are prosperous and [local] products abound. There is no poetry and books, nor rites and music, to guide their conscience. They are without [Buddhist virtues such as] loving compassion, discipline and meditation to control their licentious nature. Because of this, they fail to control their wanton nature. They are willing to give themselves up for lost. This is indeed a pity!.....
>
> In 1311, The Shu Buddhist monk, Reverent Senior Chaozong, arrived at this place. He looked at this mountain…… [Chaozong] sighed in admiration, and said: "Since the beginning and development of creation [of the world], the mountains and rivers have been coming into being. But to express and promote developing their beauty, they have waited for human beings to arrive….. [This mountain's] beauty has been hidden and unappreciated for so long. I do not desire to let down mountain

[429] The inscription was written in1321 by Bideng Chao (晁必登). XuezhengYang transcribes and discusses three other commemorative inscriptions concerning Zhengxu Temple over a one-hundred and eighty year period. The second was written in 1423 and the third in 1478. The names of the authors of these two inscriptions are unknown. The fourth inscription was written by Xingxian Yang (楊興賢). The date has not been verified, but it seems to have been written in or shortly after 1509, the year mentioned by the author in the text itself. See Xuezheng Yang (楊學政), "(Chinese) Academy of Social Sciences - Religion Research Institute of Yunnan (Yunnan sheng shekexueyuan zongjiao yanjiusuo, 雲南省 社科院 宗教 研究所)," *Research Journal of Yunnan Religion (Yunnan zongjiao yanjiu*, 云南宗教研究), ed. Xuezheng Yang 1 (1995): 21-24.

[430] Zhengxu Chan Temple is still at its original location. Wuding county (Wuding jun 武定郡) is about eighty-eight km. northwest of the city of Kunming (昆明). The temple is on Lion Mountain, which is about three km. west of Wuding county.

spirit [of this area]. I will establish a Buddhist temple. I consider this [temple as] a place where all the local people can take refuge……

After the Master returned to western Shu, there came from the west an Indian Chan Master Zhikong. He visited this place and rested here. He took no food, and just sat. However, the side of his body did not touch the mat. He opened up to proper realization, and guided and encouraged monks and the laity. All those who admired his teaching and received his trust were converted by him. There were many at that place.

The temple hall and Buddha statue were started in the spring of 1315. The monk lecture hall and storehouse were completed in the summer of 1320….. The number of those who have obtained the Way cannot be counted. Nevertheless, as for Chan learning in the southwest, [this place is] actually the source of the tradition.

Today, Chaozong started the temple in the beginning, and Zhikong completed it in the end…. Without the contribution of the two Chan nobles and the boundless blessings of the dynasty, who could have done this! I only hope for the Wheel of the Law to turn everlasting, [and] wish for the Emperor's Way to flourish forever.

南詔右釋 其來尚矣 然二十七部之俗 嗜殺性 成雖老師宿德 家至日見 提耳訓誨 猶執迷不悛 無緣而化 武定其一部也.

山水險峻 人物殷阜 無詩書禮樂 以導其良心 無誥律條約 以섭其淫性 是以失其秉彝 甘於自暴自棄 良可憫也.

至大辛亥 蜀憎長老朝宗 飛錫至止 望斯山…嘆曰: "開闢以來 山川有之 烈發場其勝概 則待 乎人焉…鬱湮 於此久矣. 吾欲不負山靈 刱一梵字 以爲一方老少 投誠之所….

師歸 西蜀之後 有西竺指空禪師 遊方憩此 絶粒危坐 脇不粘席 開闢正覺 誘掖緇俗 慕其化 受信具者 比比有焉.

佛殿旃檀 經始於乙卯之春 僧堂香積 落成於庶庚申之夏…得道者不可枚舉. 然西南禪學 實惟濫觴.

今朝宗開之 於前 指空成之於後….非我二禪伯之薰炎 與非籍 聖祚之無疆 其孰能之 惟冀法輪 而永轉祝帝 道以遐昌.[431]

The first paragraph introduces Chao's view of the barbaric nature of the local peoples throughout history, and that in the past even virtuous teachers could not pacify them. This is a typical perspective of the learned, and especially Han Chinese, Confucian-trained scholars concerning the minority peoples of the southwest. As Chao assumes, the situation seemed almost untenable as the local peoples were unwilling to change.

In the second paragraph, Chao suggests that even though the people of the Wuding area seemed to have been as irreconcilable as the rest of the barbarians in the region, it was due at least in part to the unforgiving severity of the geography of the area. In addition, they lacked the pacifying, meaning

[431] Bideng Chao (晁必登), "Chongxiu zhengxusi shanmen beiji (重修正續寺山門碑記)" (1321 C.E.), in Xuezheng Yang (楊學政), "(Chinese) Academy of Social Sciences - Religion Research Institute of Yunnan (Yunnan sheng shekexueyuan zongjiao yanjiusuo, 雲南省 社科院 宗教 研究所)" *Research Journal of Yunnan Religion (Yunnan zongjiao yanjiu*, 云南宗教研究), edited by Xuezheng Yang. 1 (1995): 22.

Confucian, resources such as poetry and books, rites and music to guide their conscience. These obvious references to the Confucian tradition are direct indications of the Confucian perspective and education of Chao, and, by extension, the temple patrons and sponsors. That the people have no guide to their conscience refers to their lack of morals or ethics, the emphasis of the Confucian tradition. In addition, the people of Wuding also lacked the direction of Buddhist virtues such as compassion, discipline and meditation to control their licentious nature. From a Confucian perspective, the Buddhist tradition focuses on the controlling of one's passions, or nature. The tone of this paragraph is that the Wuding people could change, even wanted to change, but had not had strong and direct assistance from members of either the Confucian or Buddhist perspective.

The third paragraph introduces how the history of the Wuding people changed in 1311 with the arrival from Shu (蜀, today's Sichuan) of the Buddhist monk Chaozong (朝宗). Taken by the long-unappreciated and long-hidden beauty of Lion Mountain, Chaozong made a promise to a local spirit to build a Buddhist temple there in order to offer the barbaric Wuding peoples a Buddhist refuge from the *samsaric* world of suffering.

After gathering patrons and initiating the construction, Chao writes in the fourth paragraph, Chaozong had to return to his native Shu, probably prior to 1315. Fortunately, Zhikong arrived in Yunnan sometime after that, probably in 1315. Zhikong spent time proving his "spiritual resonance" to the locals over time through the demonstration of his true Buddhist praxis. The themes of Zhikong's praxis are familiar. The act of "taking no food" suggests the extent of Zhikong's practice of "asceticism (*kuxing* 苦行)," one of the three qualities of an eminent monk expressed by Keischnick. That Zhikong "just sat," and that "the side of his body did not touch the mat (*xiebu zhanxi* 脇不粘席)" mean that he spent a lot of his time engaging in "meditative concentration (*ding* 定)." That he "opened up to proper realization (*kaipi zhengjue* 開闢正覺)" suggests that he not only achieved "right meditative concentration (*sanmei* 三昧, *zhengding* 正定, *samādhi*)" but also realized "complete penetration through meditative insight (*canchan* 參禪)," and thus had an experience of realization of illumination. That he "guided and encouraged monks

and the laity (*youye zisu* 誘掖緇俗)" means he was active in as well as successful at proselytization. That "all those who admired his teaching and received his trust were converted by him" clearly means that he engaged in teaching about Buddhism and that he was successful at both "teaching for conversion (*jiaohua* 敎化)," and "giving the precepts."

The fifth paragraph is very important, as it offers a specific range of years within which Zhikong was in Wuding as well as a time period range that he spent there. As already mentioned, Chaozong arrived in Wuding in 1311 and Zhikong arrived after Chaozong had left. In this paragraph, we gain more information. Chaozong initiated the temple construction and Zhikong completed it. The temple hall and Buddha statue were started in the spring of 1315 and the monk lecture hall and storehouse were completed in the summer of 1320. So, as discussed in chapter two in the section on the importance of Zhikong's age and determining where he was at particular times during his travels, I deduce that Chaozong was there for some of or the entire period between 1311 and 1315, or even later. I also deduce that Zhikong was there from 1315, or some time after that, to 1321, or at least to the time the temple complex was completed in 1320. Therefore, he may have spent up to five years completing the construction of Zhengxu Temple.

Another piece of information in this fifth paragraph is the statement that "as for Chan learning in the southwest, that place was the source of the tradition (*ran xinan chanxue shiwei lanshang* 然西南禪學 實惟濫觴)." The choice of wording is important. The use of the phrase "in the southwest" by Chao, whose words in the stele no doubt represented those of the patrons or sponsors of the temple construction, suggests a perspective or voice from the outside; not only from outside of Wuding county or the area around Kunming but also outside of Yunnan. Chao was representing a perspective from outside the Yunnan region. The perspective was from, or representative of, the Yuan government, and it was Confucian. Nonetheless, the statement that Shu was the source of the tradition of Chan learning in the southwest valorizes the development that Chan learning had brought to the peoples in the area. The perspective asserts that the peoples had developed away from the barbaric anarchy that is depicted at the

beginning of the text. By the 14th century, Neo-Confucians were beginning to successfully disseminate, and apply in governance, the view that Buddhism had some qualities that they could appropriate to augment their rule. Not only that, as Buddhism could not be eradicated, it could at least be utilized by Neo-Confucianism to aid it in pacifying the people, especially the barbaric peoples of the southwest.

The sixth and final paragraph validates this perspective. The message in the final paragraph is clear. The two Chan nobles, Chaozong and Zhikong, were to be congratulated and venerated by the Yuan dynasty for pacifying the barbarians in Wuding. The dynasty gave its blessings to them for their success. However, the sponsors, through the writer Chao, hoped that "the Wheel of the Law turn(s) everlasting (*ji falun* 冀法輪)" and "wished for the Emperor's Way to flourish forever (*yong zhuanzhu didao yi xiachang* 永轉祝 帝道以遐昌)." The meaning is clear. They hoped that the workings of Buddhism, in Yunnan as well as throughout the empire, would forever continue to support the agenda of the emperor and the Yuan government's ruling ideology, Confucianism.

From Yunnan Back to Dadu

The following passage in the travelogue of Zhikong text occurs immediately following the passages already discussed concerning Zhikong's encounters in Dali and Kunming. From this point on, it appears that he did not stay at any place for very long. He traveled eastward towards the coast, and was there until he was summoned to the capital by the emperor and taken there. After leaving Zhengxu Temple and the Kunming area, Zhikong appeared to initially go to the west and then south, in order to go around Dianchi Lake, before heading eastward. This route took him to Anning, which was located nearby but southwest of Kunming.

[A] monk [in] Anning prefecture asked [me about] the former [master] Amoghavajra [who upon] entering [the] Tang bowed to the ground [and showed] "deep understanding" At the time I could speak the language of Yunnan, [so I] responded saying: "The past and the present are not the same [just as] a holy man and an ordinary person [follow] different routes [in life]." [The monk] asked [me] to discourse on the *Sūtra of Good Precepts*. [I] burned the top of [his] head and arms. The officials and the people all pledged [by doing this]. Those [in the] mountain [monasteries along] Zhongqing circuit road asked [me] to discourse on the Dharma, [so I] gave five assemblies. The prince paid respects [to me] as [his] teacher.

安寧州僧 問昔三藏入唐 伏地知音。時吾會雲南語。應曰。古今不同 聖凡異路。請說戒經。燃頂焚臂。官民皆然。中慶路諸山請演法。凡五會。太子禮吾為師.[432]

The encounters in the passage above took place in Anning prefecture, close to but southwest of today's Kunming. Zhikong was asked about Amoghavajra (Bukong Sanzang 不空三藏, 705-774 C.E.), one of the three initial Indian esoteric masters to enter China during the Tang, and how he was able to demonstrate "deep understanding (*zhiyin* 知音)." Basically, the monk was asking Zhikong about the effect of such a transformational figure on the Tang. Zhikong's response about the past and the present, and the holy and ordinary man, being different, means that the arrival of the famous esoteric master changed Tang history and the people (and culture) in a way that no monk had prior to that event. It is a direct statement of the utter transformational significance an influential individual can exert on a state, culture and people, in this case a Indian Buddhism monk on Chinese civilization. The implication is that Zhikong, as a foreign monk, understood the potential impact and significance his interaction might have on the people he met, and that he might also be a transformational figure such as Amoghavajra.

The monk asked Zhikong to discourse on the *Sūtra of Good Precepts of the Bodhisattvas* (*Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經)[433] text. The text is on "*bodhisattva* precepts (*pusa jie* 菩薩戒)." I discuss in more detail the relationship between "*bodhisattva* precepts" and Zhikong's representative "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" soteriological paradigm of practice in chapters five and six. The implication of discoursing on this particular text was that the Buddhist precepts directing individuals to *nirvana* could allow them the potential to experience transformational change, in order to live peacefully in compassion with one another in this *samsaric* world of suffering. Also implied is the idea that precepts do not merely offer the moral directives for secular society. The statement that the government officials and the people all agreed to hear Zhikong's discourse on this *sūtra* suggests that orthodox Buddhism was not only strong in this area but that is may have been more widely accepted among even government

[432] T.2089. 51, 0984b.
[433] This is the sutra text that contains the *bodhisattva* precepts.

officials than was Confucianism. This conflicts with the view of Heo that "pure Buddhism"[434] was introduced into this area around the time of Zhikong's arrival there.

The act of "burning (incense marks) on the head and arms (*randing fenbi* 燃頂焚臂)" is a monastic ordination ritual. It signifies a pledge to accept and follow the precepts as well as a demonstration of one's devotion to sacrifice oneself, symbolically ones' body, in being a Buddhist monk. Those in attendance, including the monk, government officials and lay followers, all did this. This act is indicative of Zhikong's influence on them as well as the extent that Buddhism was accepted in this area. In addition, those in all the mountain monasteries along the Zhongqing circuit road, as Zhikong traveled eastward through Yunnan province along a tentacle of the Southwest Silk Road, asked Zhikong to discourse on the *Dharma*, so he conducted five "assemblies (*hui* 會)." His fame as a lecturer and teacher spread, and the prince[435] in that area paid his respects to Zhikong and asked him to be his teacher.

The emphases in this passage on texts, precepts, and discoursing at assemblies to very accepting audiences made up of "ordinary" people and government officials are significant. This is because, geographically, the area west and north of Anning and Kunming was a region where many "barbarian" tribes lived. Zhikong had passed through the northern part of that region years ago, in Shu. All of the passages in the travelogue text on his encounters, from eastern Tibet to Sichuan to the northern part of Yunnan, describe strange and difficult peoples, with strange customs and versions of indigenized Buddhism. As Zhikong went eastwards, away from Anning and Kunming, he left the region of the barbaric minority tribes to the west of those large centers.

The statement that at this time Zhikong could speak "the language of Yunnan" presents an intriguing possibility. Up to this point in time, Zhikong had been in Yunnan for more than five years. If this statement is true, then he must have learned at least one of the main languages spoken among the peoples of Yunnan. However, in no primary-source text on or mentioning Zhikong can one find such a statement

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[434] Heo 1997, 37-40.

[435] Guoyu Fang (1987) and Heo (1997) posit that the prince mentioned here may have been the person who became the king of Yunnan (雲南王) after 1320 C.E., the year that coincides closely with that of the end of the five years that Zhikong spent at Zhengxu Temple in Yunnan. See Guoyu Fang (方國瑜), "Zhongguo xinan lishi dili kaoshi (中國西南歷史地理考釋)" 中華書局 (1987): 784-807; and Heo 1997, 37.

about Zhikong being fluent in the Chinese language. In fact, primary sources record directly or alluded to indirectly a number of times that Zhikong could neither speak nor write Chinese very well at all. This is despite the fact that he would live in the Yuan capital for a number of decades. As already discussed, due to the long-time ties between Magadha and the Yunnan region, I offer the possibility that he may have learned "the language of Yunnan" as a child in Magadha, and that he may have not only known about Yunnan but had planned to go and live there even before he left Magadha. However, as yet I have found no evidence of the existence of primary sources on Zhikong in Magadha that might offer more information on his education there concerning Yunnan or languages spoken there.

The year that Zhikong left Zhengxu Temple it is not directly mentioned in Yi Saek's travelogue. However, the *History of Korean Chan* situates his period of time in and journey out of Yunnan. After entering Yunnan at the beginning of the reign of emperor Yanyou (延祐, r. 1314-1320 C.E.), the period of time that includes the years that Zhikong was at Zhengxu Temple and when he finally left the Yunnan region was from 1315 to 1320.

> From the 2nd year to the 7th year of Yanyou [1315-1320]… Zhikong was in Yunnan. During that time that he was there, [Zhikong] traveled through the Zhongqing Circuit, which included which included the three counties of Kunming, Fumin, Yiliang and Songming, as well as Jinning, Kunyang, and Anning sizhou. [The Zhongqing Circuit] was the political, economic and cultural center of Yunnan. All the mountain temples [there] asked [him] to discourse on the Law, [so he] gave five assemblies altogether.
>
> 延祐二年至延祐七年…指空在云南. 他在當時雲南行省政治, 經濟, 文化中心的中慶路 (包括昆明, 富民, 宜良三系和嵩明, 晋寧, 昆陽, 安寧四州) 活動時 "诸山请演法, 凡五会."[436]

According to this passage, from the second year to the seventh year of Yanyou, or 1315 to 1320, Zhikong was in Yunnan. The Yanyou era (1314-1320 C.E.) was a portion of the rule of emperor Renzong (仁宗, r. 1311-1320). Zhikong spent time in the major centers in the Zhongqing Circuit (中慶路), such as the three counties of Kunming (昆明), Fumin (富民), Yiliang (宜良) and Songming (嵩明), as well as Jinning (晋寧), Kunyang (昆陽), and Anning Sizhou (安寧四州). After leaving Zhengxu Temple, where he spent up to five years and may have learned a local language of the area, he discussed Buddhism at a

[436] *Hanguo chanjiao shi* (韩国禅教史, *History of Korean Chan*). 北京: 中国社会科学出版社, 1995, 215.

total of five assemblies along the Zhongqing Circuit. His spent over five years at Zhengxu Temple and traveling along the Zhongqing Circuit, from 1315 to 1320.

Zhikong came to be a very well-known and respected teacher of Buddhism throughout the main areas along the Southern Silk Route through the eastern part of Yunnan, east of Anning and Kunming. Overall, he spent a very successful period of his life in Yunnan. His fame had spread so wide that he was asked by the ruler to be his teacher of Buddhism. The following passage illustrates how effective Zhikong was at proselytizing among the many "cave-dwelling barbarians (*dongman* 洞蠻)" peoples in the region east of Yunnan.

[The] Luoluo people did not know about Buddhism or monks, [but when] I arrived their "minds were aroused…."

[In] Guizhou, all the overbearing masters and government officials "received the precepts." [The] Mao Man, Yao Tong, Qing, Hong, Hua Zhu, Da Ya, Meng Lao [peoples are] all cave[-dwelling] barbarians. All [have their] various unique foods [and] came to ask to "receive the precepts." [At] Zhenyuan district was Mawang spirit Temple. Those that pass by on a boat must "offer meat sacrifices" [to it]. [If they] don't do that, the boat is damaged. I [gave] a shout [and my] boat was able to continue on.

羅羅人 素不知佛僧。吾至皆發心…. 貴州亢帥府官 皆受戒。貓蠻猺獞青紅花竹 打牙獦狫 諸洞蠻。俱以異菜 來請受戒. 鎮遠府 有馬王神廟。舟過者 必肉祭。不然舟損。吾一喝放舟行.[437]

This passage records that Zhikong's success at introducing Buddhism to members of a variety of minority group tribes in many locations in these areas, east of Kunming, contrasted with the problems he had had with members of minority tribes that he had encountered years before in the northern and western parts of Yunnan. This is despite the indications that these peoples to the east of Yunnan knew nothing about Buddhism while those in the western part of and to the north of Yunnan had historically been influenced by Buddhism. However, the implication is that those "savage barbarians" to the west and north had been influenced by Tibetan Buddhism, while these "cave-dwelling barbarians" east of Kunming had historically been influenced more by the civilizing culture of the Han Chinese people.

It is important to keep in mind that two of the most prolific writers on Zhikong's travels and his thought were the Koryo officials Yi Saek and Minji. Both were Confucian-trained scholar-officials who were as sympathetic to Buddhism as they could be during the period of growing animosity in officialdom

[437] T.2089. 51, 0984b.

towards Buddhism in both the Yuan and Goryeo scholar-official communities throughout almost the entire latter half of the Yuan dynasty period in the 14th century. While they were representing sponsors and disciples of Zhikong in their writings pertaining to him, their political perspectives and loyalties could not be totally muted in their writings on Zhikong. As I discuss in chapter five, during the last number of decades of the waning Mongol Yuan dynasty, the possibility of Neo-Confucian thought becoming the ruling ideology was growing, and along with it the long-held animosity toward Buddhism among Confucian-trained, Han Chinese scholars and scholar-officials. In addition, members of these key groups loosely attributed certain practices to the Mongol-supported Tibetan Lamas, These practices included offering "meat sacrifices (*rouji* 肉祭)" and rituals involving sex that were classified as "licentious sacrifices" (*yinsi* 淫祀)."[438] However, the Han Chinese and Goryeo Neo-Confucian scholar-officials and monks perhaps should have attributed these "licentious practices" instead to the aforementioned "*mantra*-masters" from Tibet who were also in the Yuan capital. Nonetheless, attributing this to Lamas, rightly or not, contributed to their viewing the practices of Lamaism as more reprehensible than those of the long-established and sinicized Chan school and sects. In some respects, despite the fact that those favoring Neo-Confucianism were still perceiving Chinese Chan sects negatively, the Chinese Chan *sangha* in the last decades of the Yuan was actually beginning to regain much of its territory, temples, assets, and status that it had lost during the late Song and earlier Yuan periods.

Zhikong was able to "arouse the minds (*faxin* 發心)" of the Luoluo (羅羅) people he encountered, meaning he turned them toward Buddhism. The implication is that his "spiritual resonance" was more powerful an influence than the indigenous beliefs they had held prior to Zhikong's arrival. The power of his charisma even enabled him to persuade the overbearing masters and government officials of Guizhou to "receive the precepts." In addition, Zhikong pacified the members of "all those cave-dwelling barbarian (*zhu dongman* 諸洞蠻)" tribes of the region, so much so that the Mao Man (貓蠻), Yao Tong (猺獞),

[438] Terry F. Kleeman, "Licentious Cults and Bloody Victuals: Sacrifice, Reciprocity, and Violence in Traditional China," *Asia Minor* 3d ser. 7.1 (1994): 185–211.

Qing (青), Hong (紅), Hua zhu (花竹), Daya (打牙), Meng Lao (獷狫) brought Zhikong their unique foods and also requested that they too "receive the precepts" from Zhikong.

Further to the east, in the Zhenyuan district, was the Horse-prince Spirit Temple (Mawang shen miao 馬王神廟). Those that passed by it to cross the river by boat were obliged to offer "meat sacrifices" to it. Zhikong throughout his life was explicitly against this practice, also referred to as one of the "licentious sacrifices," especially as "meat sacrifice rituals" were performed in the Yuan and Goryeo courts. I deal with in more detail in chapter six. At the temple, Zhikong refused to offer such sacrifices. Instead, he let out "an exclamatory shout (*yihe* 一喝)" and was able to get out on the boat to continue on his journey. His shout was a form of *dhāranī*, which was stronger than that of the local spirit which had damaged the boats of those who had not offered "meat sacrifices."Again, Zhikong's "spiritual resonance" was "proven" to be more powerful than that of those who engaged in this heterodox practice and demanded it of others.

Not only was Zhikong's fame spreading throughout Yunnan, he was successful in that he was acquiring many converts and disciples from members of the variety of minority groups as well as from government officials who originally had not known much about Buddhism. The passage implies that it was Zhikong who introduced Buddhism, at least what was perceived as orthodox Buddhism, to many members of the minority "barbarian" tribes in the region. Zhikong did not stop for any length of time as he continued to travel eastward along the Changde circuit.

The following passage offers an indication of the unique mixture of religious beliefs prevalent in the region along that route.

> [On the] Changde circuit…. there was statue of Guanyin made of clay. [At] Dongting Lake along the road many "unusual spiritual occurrences" happened [that] were able to control [the] wind and rain. [While] I was traveling [there, the] wind caused waves to rise [so I] uttered the "three refuges" and "five moral precepts" in both Chinese and Sanskrit. Previously, those who presented offerings would offer silk sandals at night [but the] next day [the] sandals would be all worn out. [However] after [Zhikong's visit] they refrained from these [types of] offerings [and have] since made simple offerings.
>
> [A] government official of Huguang wanted to expel me [from there]. [I] responded, saying: "I'm a poor [person] on the way from India [and have] come a long way to pay respects to the emperor [and] to spread the true teachings of Buddhism. Don't you want me to pray for the Emperor's long life?

> 常德路 …. 觀音自塑之像。洞庭湖 靈異頗多。能作風雨。吾行適風作浪湧。為說三歸五戒. 唐梵互宣. 先時祭者夜獻絲屨。明則屨皆破。後皆卻其獻。從素祭。

湖廣省參政 欲逐吾去。吾曰。貧道西天人也。遠謁皇帝。助揚正法。汝不欲我祝皇常壽耶.[439]

On the Changde circuit (常德路)[440], there was a clay statue of the *bodhisattva* Guanyin (觀音), and at Dongting Lake (洞庭湖) along the road many "divine miracles" occurred that usually controlled the wind and rain. When Zhikong was there, the wind was blowing and the waves were rising, so he uttered the "three refuges (*sangui* 三歸)" and the "five moral precepts (*wujie* 五戒)" in both Sanskrit and Chinese to calm the weather. Zhikong taught them the value of making unadorned or "simple (vegetarian) sacrifices (*suji* 素祭)," as opposed to "meat sacrifices (*rouji* 肉祭)," and to not rely on miracles. Zhikong emphasized to them the following of the precepts of Buddhism, even in sacrificial rituals. No meat, implying no suffering of sentient beings, was to be used in sacrificial rituals. Not separating the practice of following the precepts from the practice of meditation was a key aspect of Zhikong's lifelong teaching. The government official of Huguang county (湖廣省)[441] wanted to expel Zhikong from there. Zhikong said that he had come there all the way from India to have an audience with the Emperor in order to spread the true teachings of Buddhism, so why didn't the official want him to pray for the Emperor's long life?

The making of miracles and the ability to control the weather through the application of Buddhist symbolism and rituals were part of popular Buddhism near and on the east coast during the Yuan. This suggests the influence of indigenous folk religions by the local peoples in their understanding of Buddhism. Zhikong recited the "three refuges" and the "five moral precepts" in both Sanskrit and Chinese, as he could not speak Chinese. It is not clear in this passage if his incantation had any result. This is one of a number of instances in the travelogue text of an ambiguous or negative attempt and result by Zhikong the "thaumaturge" in his use of *dhāranī* to produce "this-worldly benefits." In addition, it pit his "spiritual resonance" against that of the spirits of the indigenous religious thought of the peoples he encountered in this region. To be fair, throughout his life, recordings of his successes outnumber those of

[439] T.2089. 51, 0984b.
[440] This was east of Yunnan, in today's Hunan province
[441] This included most of the southeast region, today's Hunan, Hebei, Guangdong, and Guangxi provinces.

his instances of ambiguous result or failures. Nonetheless, recording both successes and failures suggest a belief by the sponsors of the texts on Zhikong of the power of *mantra* and invocations to bring about "unusual spiritual occurrences (*lingyi* 靈異)" based on his "spiritual resonance" vis-à-vis that which he was contending with. These types of recordings also offered an air of legitimacy that it was the power of the individual, based on the depth of his practice, and not the *mantra* or invocation itself, that was responsible for the creation of the magical occurrence or the "this-worldly benefit."

It is clear that Zhikong was not universally welcomed in the southeast. However, he associated himself the local official's paradigm by expressing his desire to pray for the Emperor's health. The terms used imply a reference to Confucianism. Zhikong demonstrated flexibility to the extent of flexibly applying his own beliefs in order to achieve his objective.

The following passage illustrates one of the few explicit recordings of Zhikong's political acumen. Shortly after these encounters, Zhikong was summoned to the Yuan capital.

[I] passed through Donglin Temple [on] Lu Mountain and saw [the] grand Qianshen Pagoda [in which the] relics [there] were as if [they have] not yet decayed. [I] was asked [the] meaning of "wisdom." I said: "[The] "three types of mind" cannot be obtained." [At] Yangzhou the crown prince had a boat dispatched for me to go to [Da]Du. A senior governmental minister's concubine, [whose] family name was Chang, was a Koryo person. [She] requested an ordination ceremony at Chongren Temple [and after] it was done [we] went to Luanjing. That is [where I] encountered [emperor] Taiding.

過盧山東林寺。見前身塔猶巋然。骨猶未朽。淮西寬問般若意。吾曰。三心不可得。楊州太子以舟送吾 至都。大順丞相之室 常氏高麗人也。請於崇仁寺施戒。既而至灤京。泰定之遇 是已.[442]

Donglin Temple (東林寺) was on Lu Mountain (盧山)[443] near the east coast. When Zhikong was asked to explain the meaning of "wisdom (*banrou* 般若, *prajñā*)," he replied that the "three types of mind (*sanxin* 三心)"[444] were unattainable. This answer is in line with an aforementioned fundamental concept of Zhikong's thought, which is also representative of Goryeo Seon thought. His answer asserted the "indivisibility of meditative concentration (practice) and (scriptural) teaching (*Chanjiao weifen* 禪教未

[442] T.2089. 51, 0984b.
[443] Lu Mountain is in Jiangxi (江西) province today. Lu Mountain and Donglin Temple are located near today's northern port city of of Jiujiang (九江). During the Yuan, Jiangxing province (Jiangxing sheng 江行省) included most of today's Guangdong, thus stretched east to the coast. Jiangxi also offered the main route to the capital to the north from the southwest.
[444] This refers to the three minds of the *bodhisattva*; the true mind, the profound mind, and the mind of compassion.

分).” The representative concept of Zhikong’s thought, the “truth of the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts (*wusheng jiefa* 無生戒法),” held that the learning, acquisition and enactment of precepts, as separate aspects of practice, are not the wisdom of having internalized all precepts as an indivisible entirety to the extent that one expresses them “without (self-directed) thought (*wunian* 無念)” yet simultaneously in “mindfulness (*wunian* 念).” Therefore, according to Zhikong’s thought, one could not merely deconstruct the “three types of mind (*sanxin* 三心)” in order to be able to (merely) understand them, and then reconstruct them and call it wisdom. This is because (“True”) wisdom and the “(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts” are indivisible.

The crown prince arranged for Zhikong to be taken from Yangzhou (楊州) to the capital, Dadu, by boat. There, the Prime Minister, or a “most senior governmental minister (Dashun chengxiang 大順丞相)” had a concubine from Goryeo whose family name was Chang (창, 常).[445] Chang requested that Zhikong give her an ordination ceremony, for her to become a Buddhist, at Chongren Temple (崇仁寺). When it was over they went together to the “Middle capital (Luanjing 灤京),” north of Dadu, where Zhikong lived during the rule of Taiding (泰定, Borjigin Yesün-Temür 孛兒只斤也孫鐵木兒, temple name Jinzong 晉宗), who ruled from 1323-28 C.E.

The *History of Korean Chan* offers some general information concerning situating Zhikong’s arrival in the Yuan capital this second time. It records that there are differing accounts as to how and when he arrived, but suggests that it was shortly after the death of emperor Yinzong.

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[445] The position 大順丞相 could refer to “most senior governmental minister,” including Prime Minister.

Heo (1997, 45-46) holds that the family name of the minister’s wife from Goryeo is not Chang but Wie (韋, Oui 위), and that her family name is incorrectly recorded in the travelogue of Zhikong by Yi Saek as well as in the *Selected Works of Korean Literature* (*Dongmunseon* 동문선, *Dong wenxuan* 東文選). The family of Wie Suyeo (위수여, Wei shouyu 韋壽餘) seems to be that of a governmental official in Goryeo. Heo suggests that this as well as the background of the Prime Minister, or senior governmental minister, need to be investigated further.

The *Selected Works of Korean Literature* is an anthology of various texts such as memorials, inscriptions and critical writings dating back to the Koguryo period, although most of the works in it were written during the Goryeo period. It was first compiled in 1478, and then updated in 1518.

Heo (1997, 41) also seems to suggest that the Goryeo lady Chang has the “family name of Fu (Fu *shi* 夫氏),” thus presenting an even greater need for the investigation of this sponsor or patron of Zhikong after he arrived in the Yuan capital.

Zhikong met with Emperor Taiding in the year that the coup d'état occurred at court in which Yingzong was killed. When Taiding ascended the throne, he summoned Zhikong.

指空見泰定帝. 是年元宮廷發生政變 英宗被殺, 泰定帝登位, 召見指空.[446]

As already mentioned, Zhikong probably arrived at the capital this second time sometime in 1323. This is a logical assumption, because Taiding did not become emperor until after the coup d'état that killed Yingzong occurred, which was in the ninth month of 1323.[447] Therefore, Zhikong must have spent up to two years or more of traveling towards and then northwards up the east coast, between the time he left Zhengxu Temple in Yunnan sometime in or shortly after 1320 and when he arrived in the Yuan capital sometime in 1323. Zhikong's fame as a teacher of Buddhism had preceded him, and he would be sought after as a personal instructor by government officials and members of the Mongol royal family. This was especially the case among influential members of the minoritized Goryeo expatriate community in the capitals, such as the Goryeo woman named Chang. Other than his two-year-and-seven month trip to Goryeo that would begin early in 1326, thus up to two years or more after he arrived in the Yuan capital, Zhikong's long journey from his home country was finally over.

Two Years and Seven Months in Goryeo

To follow Zhikong through the peninsula, use Map 5. There is very little in Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong about his time in Goryeo. Heo[448] points out that he information about this that does exist is found in bits and pieces in a variety of primary sources such as "history books (*shishu* 史書)," "collections of works (*wenji* 文集)," topographies (*dizhi* 地誌)," and "epigraphs (*jinshi wen* 金石文)." What is evident in an analysis of these various sources is that Zhikong and his Buddhist thought were well-received by the people of Goryeo during his journey throughout the peninsula.

[446] *Hanguo chanjiao shi* (*History of Korean Chan*) 1995, 214.
[447] The assassination of Yingzong is known as the "Coup d'etat at Nanpo." See Henry Hoyle Howorth and Ernest George Ravenstein, *History of the Mongols: From the 9th to the 19th Century* (Oxford University: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1876.)
[448] Heo 1997, 96.

[During the] Taiding period [I] met the emperor on the Nan River. [He] praised [my] discoursing on Buddhism [and] decreed [that the] government provide [Zhikong with] a yearly supply of clothing and food provisions. [The] Master said: "These are not why I am [here]." [Zhikong] left and journeyed eastward to Goryeo [and] paid his respects on Geumgang Mountain at the "enlightenment place" of Faqi. [However] there was an imperial order directing [Zhikong] back to Yan[du].

泰定間見 天子于難水之上。論佛法稱旨。命有司歲給衣糧。師曰。吾不為是也。去而東遊高句麗。禮金剛山法起道場。有旨趣還燕.[449]

The passage above introduces both the interest Emperor Taiding had in Zhikong as well as the fact that Zhikong was doing so well in Goryeo that it took an imperial order by the Yuan court to get him back to the Yuan capital. Zhikong met Emperor Taiding near the Nan River (Nanshui 難水)[450] in northern Yuan. This meeting occurred at some point during the Taiding period (1323-1328), but certainly before Zhikong left for his journey through Goryeo early in 1326. What we do know is that he arrived at Gamro Temple (감로사, Ganlu si 甘露寺) in Gaegyeong (개경, Kaijing 開京) in the 3rd month of 1326, thus during the Taiding period. However, it is not clear how long he spent in the Yuan capital before he went to Goryeo, because the date and year that he arrived in the capital this second time is not made clear. The amount of time between his arrival at the Yuan capital this second time and the beginning of his journey through Goryeo may have been as long as a few years. Zhikong was praised by the Emperor for his ability to discourse on Buddhism. The Emperor ordered that Zhikong be given clothing and food yearly during his stay, as he wanted him nearby, but Zhikong said that this special treatment was not what he had come to Yuan for. His purpose was to "teach the *Dharma* (*jiaofa* 教法)" and to "teach for conversion (*jiaohua* 教化)" to those who had little opportunity to know Buddhism.

Zhikong went east and journeyed through Goryeo.[451] He paid respects on Geumgang Mountain (금강산, Jingang shan 金剛山) to "the place of enlightenment of Beopgi (Beopgi bosal 법기보살, *Faqi*

[449] T .2089. 51, 0983a.
[450] This was probably the Luan River (Luan shui 灤水), which flowed through Shangdu during the Yuan.
[451] Minji wrote that Zhikong arrived at Gamro Temple in the Geumgang Mountain region of Goryeo in the 3rd month of 1326 (越泰定三年三月日 到干我王京城西甘露寺). See Minji, *Chanyao lu Preface*.

daochang 法起道場)."[452] During his time in Goryeo, he had to return to the Yuan due to an Imperial order. It appears that this order, however, came during his travels throughout and stay within Goryeo, not right after he arrived there. Zhikong went to Goryeo during the Taiding period and returned to the Yuan capital about at the time of the beginning of the Tianli (1328-1330 C.E.) period. It was the support and discipleship of Goryeo expatriates in Dadu that encouraged Zhikong to begin a long relationship with Goryeo people. Heo[453] traces the route Zhikong took through the peninsula, and listed the temples, some surely and others probably, that Zhikong visited during his time in Goryeo.

Traveling east from Dadu, Zhikong arrived at Gamro Temple in Gaegyeong in Goryeo in the 3rd month of 1326.[454] Gamro Temple is located north of today's Seoul and just across the DMZ, thus inside the DPRK. According to the *Sejong Silrok*,[455] Gamro Temple was a Seon-affiliated temple during Goryeo and into the Joseon period, and this temple is where the Goryeo Imje Seon (Linji Chan) monk Taego Bou (태고보우, Taigu Puyu 太古普愚, 1301-1382 C.E.) had his experience of the realization of enlightenment in 1333, about seven years after Zhikong was there. As for Zhikong, the prestige that he had earned among the Goryeo expatriates in the Yuan capital preceded him when he arrived at Gamro Temple on the peninsula.

The streets were full of people saying, "How can we not come and visit the born-again Buddha who arrived here from a faraway place?"

城中士女咸曰 釋尊復出 遠來至此 盍往觀乎.[456]

Zhikong left Gamro Temple to go northeast to Geumgang Mountain "twenty days (*er xun* 二旬)" later.[457] Geumgang Mountain had been a key geographical place for Korean Buddhism up to the late Silla

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[452] Both of these are associated with esotericism. Dharmodgata (Faqi 法起, also written as Fashan 法善) lives on top of *Vajra* Mountain (金剛山) in the middle of the ocean. Goryeo had its own version of this, Geumgang Mountain, which is famous in Korea as "sacred land (*shengdi* 聖地)." It has historically been the location at which "sacrificial rituals (*yuxiang* 御香)" for the founding ancestors of the Korean race have taken place. Zhikong went there as he was put in charge of these. 親對日角 默傳妙旨 因受御香 名以往觀金剛山 而出來. See Minji, *Chanyao lu Preface*.

[453] Heo 1997, 52-56.

[454] In 1352, Gaegyeong (개경, Kaijing 開京), or Songak (송악, Songyue 松嶽), changed its name to Gaesong (개성, Kaicheng 開城) in what is today's North Korea. See Minji. *Chanyao lu Preface*.

[455] *Sejong Silrok* (세종실록, 世宗實錄) (1432) 권 153, 지리지 (地理志), 개성발유후사 (開城潑留後司), 불자 (佛字).

[456] Minji. *Chanyao lu Preface*.

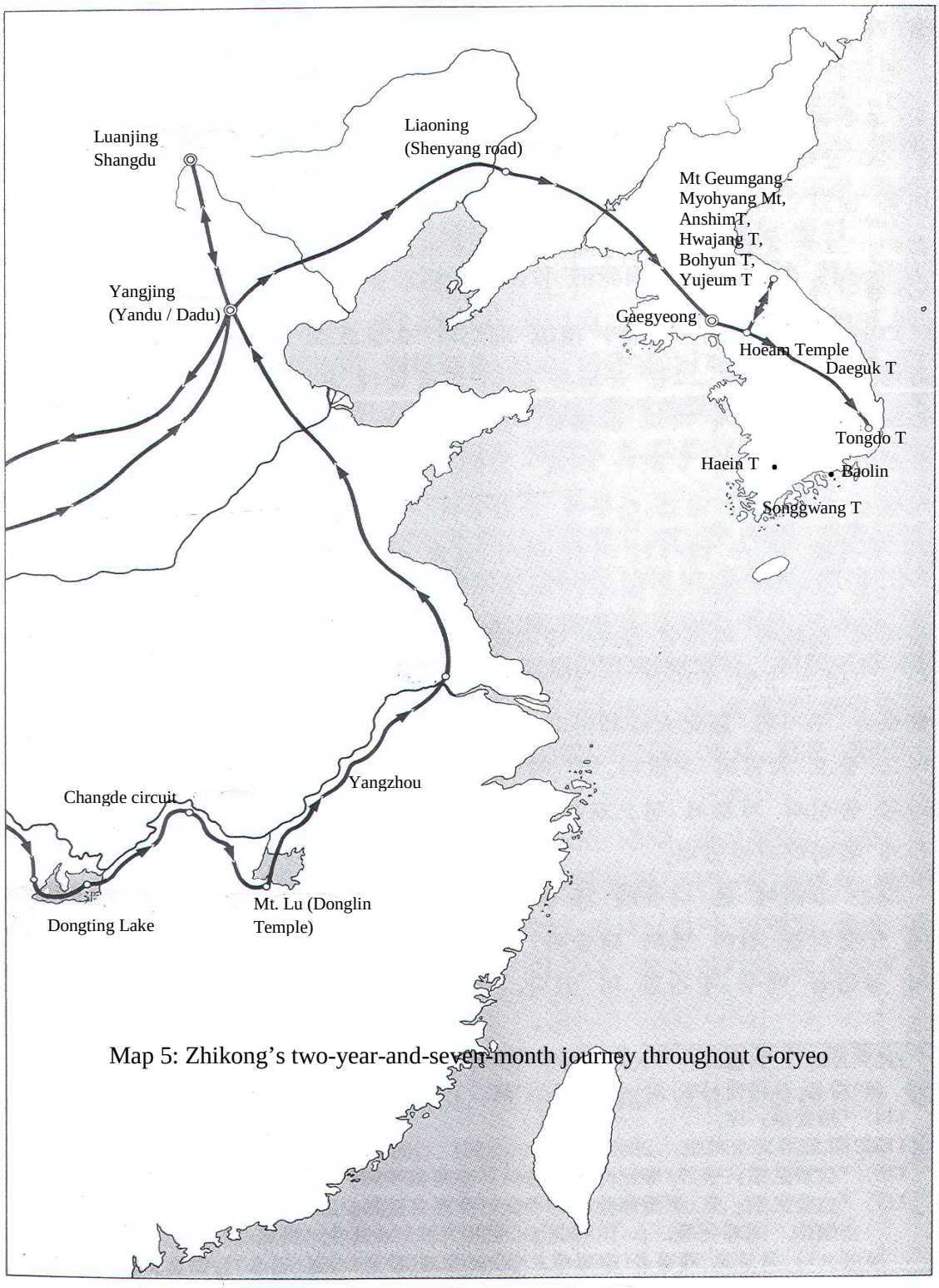
[457] Ibid.

period, and had been experiencing incursions by the Yuan armies by the early decades of the 14th century.[458] Heo[459] is confident that the temple Zhikong stayed at on Geumgang Mountain was Yujeom Temple (유점사, Yuzhan si 楡岾寺). Up to that time it also had been, and continued to be after Zhikong visited it, an important Seon temple of the Jogye Order well into the Joseon dynasty period. Zhikong may have also stayed at Pyohun Temple (표훈사, Biaoxun si 表訓寺) on Geumgang Mountain and Bohyeon Temple (보현사, Puxian si 普賢寺) on Myohyang Mountain (묘향산, Miaoxiang shan 妙香山). In fact, Heo[460] writes that Zhikong only stayed at Seon-affiliated "temples or huts (*sian* 寺庵)" on Geumgang Mountain, thus asserting that Zhikong was perceived by the Goryeo people as a Chan monk as early as the mid-1320s.

[In the] latter third [of the] fourth month of that year [1326 the] Master returned to those [Geumgang] mountains at the request of [a Goryeo] concubine sponsor [who] offered a dwelling [in a [place] to the east of Sungsu Temple…. [There he] prepared an ordination hall [in order] to carry out the way of the highest (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts….. Those that competed to gather at the ordination hall, [including] court nobles and scholar officials, nobles and commoners, even foolish husbands and wives, numbered in the tens of thousands a day.

師以是年四月下旬 還自彼山. 因受檀越順妃之請 住錫于城東崇壽寺….別作戒場 依最上無生戒法… 公卿大夫士庶人 乃至愚夫愚婦 爭先雲集於戒場者 日以千万計.[461]

[458] Heungsik Heo, *Goryeo Gugdaejang i angi* (고려국대장이안기, 高麗國大藏移安記) (1306), 高麗佛教史研究, Iljogak (一潮閣), 1986.
[459] Heo 1997.
[460] Ibid., 47.
[461] Minji, *Chanyao lu Preface*.



Map 5: Zhikong's two-year-and-seven-month journey throughout Goryeo

After a short trip to Gaegyeong and back, Zhikong returned again to and traveled throughout the Geumgang Mountain area for one month. He stayed at Sungsu Temple (숭수사, Chongshou si 崇壽寺), probably a Seon-affiliated temple, that was located just to the east of Gaegyeong and thus in today's DPRK, at the request and "sponsorship (*tanyue* 檀越)" of "concubine Mi (미, Wei *shunfei* 未順妃)."[462] Concubine Mi was a benefactor that had sponsored him from the beginning of his stay in the Yuan capital. At Sungsu Temple, Zhikong established an "ordination hall (*jiechang* 戒場)," or place at which to administer the precepts to followers and monks. There, he "gave the precepts (*shoujie* 授戒)," of the "way of the highest (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts (*wusheng jiefa* 無生戒法)" based on the *Text of the Precepts of* (*Neither Arising Nor*) *Non-arising*, to "tens of thousands of people a day," basically meaning many people. They included "court nobles and scholar-officials (*gongqing daifu* 公卿大夫)," "nobles and commoners (*shishu ren* 士庶人)," and "simple husbands and wives (*yufu yufu* 愚夫愚婦) who were confused concerning Buddhism.

Zhikong also visited a number of temples near what is Seoul today. In the 10th month of 1327, Zhikong was in Gyeongwon (경원, Qingyuan 慶源), today's Incheon (인천, Renchuan 仁川) located to the west of Seoul and on the coast, and on the way to Hwa Mountain (화산, 華山), near today's Suwon (수원, Shuiyuan 水原), with a throng of about a thousand disciples training

[462] Heo (1997, 50) describes this benefactor as a female member, family name of Mi (미, Wei 未), of a Koryo royal family. She had three sons and four daughters. Her eldest son was a royal archivist scholar (翰林學士) and the second son was Great Sŏn Master Cijue (慈覺大禪師), abbot of Ssangbong Temple (쌍봉사, Shuangfeng si 雙峯寺). Two daughters were wives of high-ranking Mongolian officials. Clearly, the Goryeo royalty was closely tied to the Yuan government and royal family, as well as to the religious order in both the Yuan and Goryeo.

under him.[463] On Hwa Mountain, Zhikong stayed at Geondong Seon Temple (건동선사, Qiandong Chansi 乾洞禪寺). This was located on the west coast of the peninsula, currently west of and near today's Seoul in the ROK. After his stay at Geondong Seon Temple, Zhikong went to the northeast and visited the site of Hoeam Temple (회암사, Guiyan si 檜巖寺), the site of which still exists northeast of Seoul today. Years later, in the Yuan capital and after he had established a relationship with Naong, Zhikong mentioned to Naong that the geographical features on Cheonbo Mountain (천보산, Tianbo shan 天寶山) near Hoeam Temple reminded him of the geography surrounding Nālandā. Then, decades after that, from 1374 to 1376, thus over a decade after Zhikong's death, Naong would rebuild and re-establish Hoeam Temple to the extent that it became known as Goryeo's "Nālandā of the East."[464] Hoeam Temple would, during its short existence, become the largest and most influential Buddhist temple in the early Joseon.

Zhikong continued his journey southward down the peninsula. He visited Daegok Temple (대곡사, Dagu sa 大谷寺), which was added to later in the Koryo but then burned during the Joseon dynasty period, in Yecheon (예천, Liquan 醴泉). Daegok Temple was located more than halfway down, and near the east coast of, what is today the ROK. It was east of today's city of Daegu. In the second month of 1328, Zhikong arrived and stayed at Tongdo Temple (통도사, Tongdu si 通度寺),[465] which was (and still is) located near the southeast tip of the peninsula. Tongdo Temple was and is still one of the "Three Jewel Temples" of Korea. At the temple, he

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[463] Jaehyeon Lee (이제현, 李齊賢), 익재난고 (益齋亂藁). 권 6, Record of Repair to Qiandong Chan Temple (중수건동선사기, 重修乾洞禪寺記) (1327), in *Collection of Goryeo's Wisemen* (고려명현집, 高麗名賢集) 2, 285.
[464] Yi Saek, Collection of Writings of Mogeun (Mogeun Mungo 목은문고, 牧隱文藁), 천보산회암사수조기 (天寶山檜巖寺修造記) (1377), in *Collection of Goryeo's Wisemen* (고려명현집, 高麗名賢集) 2: 808; Gyeong Il (경일, 敬一), "Dongye Jip (동계집, 桐溪集)" Vol. 2, 예천군태행산대곡사중창기 (醴泉郡太行山大谷寺重創記), in *Complete Book of Korean Buddhism* (한국불교전서, 韓國佛教全書) 12 (1996a): 205; and Gyeong Il, "Dongye Jip (동계집, Tongxi ji 桐溪集)" Vol. 3, 대곡사창건전후사적기 (大谷寺創建前後事蹟記), in *Complete Book of Korean Buddhism* (한국불교전서, 韓國佛教全書) 12 (1996b): 207.
[465] 釋瑚於泰定五年戊辰二月 晦 揭于記. See Keiichi Taiin (退隱敬一), "Tongdo sa sajeok yakrok (통도사사적약록, 通度寺事蹟略錄)," 崇德七年壬午九月(Sept, 1642), in *Records of Tongdo Temple* (通度寺誌). 서울 : 亞細亞文化社, 1979, 47.

inspected the "relics of Buddha (*sari* 사리, *sheli* 舍利)" that were being preserved there. After going as far south down the Korean peninsula as Yeongsan county (영산현, Lingshan xian 靈山縣) and to Jin Mountain (진산, Zhen shan 鎭山), which was located near today's city of Busan, Zhikong went to Borim Temple (보림사, Baolin si 寶林寺). It was located southwest of Tongdo Temple, at the southeastern tip of the peninsula. At Borim Temple, he lectured on the doctrines in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.[466]

Heo[467] cites a variety of early Joseon dynasty sources in order to summarize the route and places that Zhikong visited throughout the southern part of the Korean peninsula. Zhikong must have visited the other two of the "Three Jewel Temples." These were Haein Temple (해인사, Haiyin si 海印寺), located northwest of Borim Temple, and Songgwang Temple (송광사, Songgwang si 松廣寺) on Jogye Mountain (조계산, Caoxi shan 曹溪山), located southwest of Haein Temple and on the southwestern tip of the peninsula near the coast. Aside from their status, their special designation in the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*, and their proximity to each other, another reason that Zhikong must have visited both Haein Temple and Songgwang Temple is that they both were on the main travel route going west from Tongdo Temple. According to Heo,[468] records show that Zhikong's portrait has existed at Hoeam Temple (this temple does not exist today, but his portrait is stored along with its remains) and may still be in Hwajang Temple (화장사, Huazang si 華藏寺), which today is in the DPRK.

It is plausible to assume that Zhikong returned to Gaegyeong by going northward up the west coast of the peninsula for the following reasons. He stopped in at Samhap Temple (삼합사, Sanhe si 三合寺) on Mudeung Mountain (무등산, Wudeng shan 無等山) in today's city of

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[466] *Sinjeung dongguk Yeoji Seungram* (신증동국여지승람, 新增東國輿地勝覽). (1530) 권 27, 영산현 (靈山縣) 산천(山川) 영취산(靈鷲山), 불우(佛宇) 보림사(寶林寺).
[467] Heo 1997, 52-55.
[468] Ibid., 8-10, 58.

Gwangju (광주, Guangzhou 光州). Zhikong is only mentioned once in the *Goryeo History*.[469] It chronicles that in the seventh month of 1328 C.E., the final year of his stay in Goryeo, he was with a noble family. This single recording is a simple statement to the effect that "crazy monk Zhikong (*huseng* Zhikong 胡僧指空) 'taught the precepts' at Yeonbok Pavilion (연복정, Yanfu ting 演福亭)[470] in Gaegyeong, and immediately men and women gathered and listened." The term "*huseng*" was a derogatory term for foreign monks, and as the *Goryeo History* text was written by anti-Buddhist Neo-Confucian Joseon Dynasty historians it is understandable that in it the information on such an influential Buddhist monk is limited and negative.

A number of important relics are extant on the Korean peninsula today. Zhikong's portrait is at Tongdo Temple, Songgwang Temple and Haein Temple. His image (between that of Naong and Muhak) is at Silleuk Temple (신륵사, Shenle si 神勒寺), which is located southeast of today's Seoul. My photos of the portraits of Zhikong, Naong and Muhan that are in Silleuk Temple are shown in chapter six. Zhikong's portrait may still exist at Hwajang Temple as well as at Ansim Temple (안심사, Anxin si 安心寺) on Myohyang Mountain. Both of these temples are in the DPRK (North Korea), but I do not know if Zhikong's portrait is still at those places. Zhikong's portrait scrolls are still preserved at Hoeam Temple, Silleuk Temple, Tongdo Temple, Bulam Temple (불암사, Foyan si 佛巖寺), just northeast of Seoul, and Seonam Temple (선암사, Xianyan si 仙巖寺), located in Busan.[471] All of these temples containing his portrait scrolls are in the ROK.

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[469] *Goryeo History* 1330.

[470] This is the place that probably became Yeonbok Temple (연복사, Yanfu si 演福寺) during the Joseon dynasty. It was destroyed by fire in 1563.

[471] A portrait of Zhikong may also be at Bogyeong Temple (보경사, 寶鏡寺), which is located in Cheongha county (청하현, 淸河縣), near the city of Daegu (대구, 大丘) in the ROK (South Korea).

It was after he had returned to Gaegyeong that Zhikong received an order from the Yuan emperor Wenzong (文宗) to return to the Yuan, and so he did. The rule of Wenzong during the reign name of Tianli (天曆) was from 1328-1329.

[The] Tianli emperor issued an imperial order that all monks were to lecture on the *Dharma* [but] some were detained.

[It was] emperor (Wenzong) [who] listened to them in person.

天曆皇帝 詔與諸僧 講法禁中. 天子（文宗）亲临听之.[473]

On his way back to the Yuan, Zhikong stopped at Hwajang Temple again, to plant a tree and write a poem. Therefore, near the end of 1328, Zhikong's two year and seven month period in Goryeo came to an end, and he was back in the Yuan capital for the third time in his life. This time he was in the Yuan capital to stay.

Zhikong Establishes Support in the Yuan Capital

In late 1328, Zhikong arrived at the Yuan capital area, for the third time in his life. The passages from the travelogue of Zhikong that I translate and discuss in this section briefly describe events in his life after 1328 and up to the late 1340s, just before Zhikong met and began his ten-year relationship with Naong in 1348. The specific aspects of his relationship with Naong, and the similarities and contrasts between Zhikong's thought and that of Goryeo lay Buddhists and Goryeo monks living in the Yuan capitals, are discussed in chapters five and six. As well, I have already translated and discussed the passages in the travelogue concerning the description of Zhikong's passing in chapter two.

[472] Taipu Wei, *Preface to Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising*.
[473] *History of Korean Chan* 1995, 214.

In Yi Saek's copied version of the travelogue of Zhikong, the temporal order of events between 1328 and the early 1340s is disjointed. This is due to a disjointed ordering of passages in the text. As I discussed in chapter one, the first-person referent is used in the first two-thirds of the travelogue in describing events up to 1326. This suggests that Minji, who wrote the *Chanyao lu Preface* in the eighth month of 1326, could have acquired the information directly from Zhikong in the few years between Zhikong's arrival at the Yuan capital in 1323 and Minji's death in the 11th month of 1326, the year Zhikong began his journey through Goryeo. Certainly, the information in the first two-thirds of the travelogue was acquired between the time Zhikong arrived in the Yuan capital, in 1323, and the 8th month of 1326. Most likely, the information in the final third of the travelogue text, the portion of the text I deal with from this point onward in this chapter, was added and collected at a later time, and probably at different times as well as from various persons not including Zhikong. This could explain the fact of the disjointed text.

I have reorganized the relevant passages in order to match the temporal order of events, in order for the discussion of them to be easier to follow.

> [At the] beginning of the Tianli [period], there was a decree granting several monks an audience to discourse on Buddhism inside [the] imperial courtyard [and] the emperor attended personally to listen. [There were] several monks [there who] relied on [the emperor's] charity [but they] became obstinate with [an] atmosphere of superiority. Disgusted by their dissention, [Zhikong] was dejected [and] did not continue [with the discourse]. Not much later, some of those monks were either killed or reprimanded. Then, [the] fame of [the] Master was revealed inside and outside [the Yuan].
>
> 天曆初　詔與所幸諸僧講法內庭。天子親臨聽焉. 諸僧恃恩。頡頏作氣勢。惡其軋己。沮不得行。　未幾諸僧 或誅或斥。而師之名 震暴中外.[474]

In this passage, Zhikong's contentious relationship with and negative view of other monks in the capital is expressed. The Tianli period of emperor Wenzong (文宗, Borjigin Toq-Temür 孛兒只斤圖鐵木兒) was from 1328 to 1329 C.E. Therefore, this event occurred very late in 1328. Zhikong had just returned from his time in Goryeo, and his initially good relationship with and

[474] T.2089. 51, 0983a.

fame among Goryeo expatriates in the Yuan capitals that he had enjoyed prior to his trip through Goryeo was now even better because of his success with the Goryeo people on the peninsula. Even though he was just beginning the rest of his life in the Yuan capital, he had already established a relationship with members of the emperor's royal family, as some of them were among his patrons. This was probably his first and only meeting with Wenzong, who was at the time of this meeting at the beginning of his short reign, as it was Jinzong that Zhikong had met prior to his trip to Goryeo.

A number of monks at the discourse meeting had a haughty attitude, according to Zhikong, despite the fact that they were at this meeting through the invitation of the emperor. The implication is that many of those with the haughty attitude were, like Zhikong, being sponsored by members of the royal family. This passage indicates that Zhikong may have been so disappointed with their attitude of disrespect toward the emperor and his family members that were in attendance that he left the discourse meeting. While the implication is that the issue of contention between the haughty monks and the emperor was political, it was probably not the case for Zhikong. Based on the overall context of the Zhikong as presented in the primary sources, he rarely appeared to emphasize political activity in his teaching and practice. So, in this passage, from Zhikong's perspective the participating monks were not only not following rules of comportment of the *vinaya*, meaning they were not following relevant precepts, they were also not following the this-worldly and commonsense rules of comportment of Confucianism.

The statement that some time later they were punished for their disrespectful behavior while Zhikong's fame was spreading suggests two points. One is that they were wrong to be haughty and not demonstrate comportment in front of the emperor that supported them. The other is that continuity in the representation of Zhikong as a foreign monk who primarily emphasized Buddhist teaching, practice, and proselytizing was perpetuated. Through his choice of action in this situation, which was to be disappointed in those that did not demonstrate comportment and

gratitude in front of the emperor that supported them, he maintained this emphasis along with a relatively benign stance regarding politics.

The overriding theme of the passage above is to respect and demonstrate compassion for others through following the precepts of the *vinaya*. This theme is contrasted with the theme of another passage from the text that occurs in the travelogue right next to the passage above. However, this other passage records a situation that occurred about twelve years later, in at least 1340 or 1341. In it, Zhikong denounced, and thus appeared to disrespect, everyone, including the emperor. My translation and discussion of this passage in which Zhikong appears to disrespect everyone is below. Following it is an explanation of the paradoxical relationship between the themes of the passage just discussed above and the following passage below.

[The] Master took off [his] monk's robes after the Tianli [period]….

After [the] Tianli [period, the Master] did not eat or speak for more than ten years. After [that], when he spoke, [the Master] always said: "I am the ruler of all-under-Heaven.'" [Zhikong] also denounced the Empress and concubines, saying: "Everyone serves me." Those who heard this [thought] it strange [but] did not dare ask [him about it]. Some time passed [and then the] Emperor heard it [and the] Emperor said: "[Words] like those are fitting for the king of the Law to bear [so] this is why [this] is not my family's affair."

師自天曆褫僧衣….[475]

天曆以後不食不言者十餘年。既言。時時自稱 我是天下主。又斥后妃曰. 皆吾侍也。聞者怪之。不敢問所以。久而聞于上。上曰。彼是法中王 宜其自負如此。何與我家事耶.[476]

The first part sentence, that Zhikong "took of (his) monk's robes (*chi sengyi* 褫僧衣)," after the Tianli period, is part of a separate passage. The Tianli period was from 1328 to 1330, so Zhikong disrobed in or after 1330. I show, translate and discuss the complete passage that this part-sentence belongs to immediately after the following discussion of the passage above.

[475] T.2089. 51, 9084b-c.
[476] T.2089. 51, 0983a.

This second and much longer portion of the passage above records that Zhikong went into seclusion, and this period of seclusion lasted for over ten years. Zhikong took of his robe after the Tianli period, which means he did so sometime in or after 1330.[477] His "taking off his robe" means that he went into seclusion within secular society, not officially as a monk. This was not an uncommon activity for an older monk. After a monk has established the status and patronage to be able to relinquish all duties and responsibilities to his disciples, he might choose to "take off his robe" for some period of time or even for the rest of his life, in order to further develop his personal practice. Zhikong also did this, in part in order to avoid having to deal with the official and political issues concerning Buddhism in the Yuan capital. Such a reason for "taking off one's robes" was also not uncommon. As I discuss in chapter five, Chinese Chan sects of the Buddhist *sangha* had lost status, disciples and property due to the initial policies of the Mongol Yuan government, and were during the Tianli period only beginning to recoup their losses.

This passage depicts a perspective that explicitly and directly contrasts with that which Zhikong expressed over twelve years before, during the discourse meeting with other haughty monks in front of the emperor. Zhikong was disappointed with the monks showing disrespect toward their sponsor, the emperor. As already mentioned, that discourse meeting occurred in 1328. However, the indirect exchange with a new emperor in this passage occurred sometime in 1340 or even 1341. Zhikong expressed this new perspective right after emerging from a ten-year period of self-imposed isolation and seclusion in the capital, which was from 1330 to about 1340 or even sometime later. There is little information about what Zhikong did during this ten-year period of self-imposed isolation, but he most likely spent as a semi-recluse in the residence bought for him by a female sponsor. And, at some point during this period of reclusion, this residence became Fayuan Temple. I discuss this in the next upcoming translated passage.

[477] Wenzong ruled during the Tianli period, from 1328-1330. So, Zhikong took off his robes after he returned to the Yuan from his trip to Goryeo.

Nonetheless, the emphasis in primary texts on Zhikong's activity after this period, thus at least in or after 1340, is his relationship with Naong (Lanweng), which began in 1348.

This passage records that Zhikong came out of his period of isolation with a renewed sense of his importance and recognition of his achieved "status" above even the Yuan emperor. Then, he said that he was the "ruler of all-under-Heaven," or the entire empire, and that everyone served him. On the surface it seems he was being as disrespectful toward the emperor and his royal family members, indeed to the entire nation, just as he had felt the haughty monks had been twelve years before, and in the same way. It seems that he was, like those monks had been, putting himself above others.

The theme of this passage is reminiscent of the treatise by the monk Huiyuan (慧遠, 334-416 C.E.), who wrote *On Why Monks Do Not Bow Down Before Kings* in 404 C.E.[478] Therefore, the event of the 1328 and this exchange with the emperor in 1340 or 1341 present two totally opposing and contradictory perspectives held by Zhikong; following clearly prescribed precepts, in this case precepts of comportment, is right, and not following precepts is right. From the perspective of one who has yet to realize awakening, and thus is still on "this shore" of the conventional world, following the precepts of comportment to the letter is the correct course of action. One the other hand, from the perspective of one who has realized awakening but still chooses to live in this *samsaric* world of convention, meaning one who is a *bodhisattva*, the conventional man-made precepts of comportment need not necessarily apply to him. And, from the perspective of the latter observing the former, the actions of the former are limiting. That is

[478] The crux of Huiyuan's assertion in this text is this. A monk has chosen to "leave home," thus leave behind his family and all worldly attachments, in order to follow the *Dharma*, or Law, of Buddha, as his ultimate purpose. The *Dharma* is not of this conventional world. While a monk may be involved in this world of suffering, and interact with others peacefully, his purpose is to transcend the attachment to this world and all things in it in order to end suffering. He is to in, but not of, this world. This entails an adherence to a "Law" above all "this-worldly," or man-made, laws. Therefore, a monk, while being respectful toward others through his following of the precepts of the *vinaya*, should not be expected or required to bow before any king. Huiyuan was posthumously named the First Patriarch of the Pure Land School of Buddhism.

why no one could understand what Zhikong meant by his statement that everyone served him. From their perspective, how could Zhikong have become so arrogant?

He wasn't. The pair of passages, one recording a situation in 1328 and the other in 1341, presents a scenario that shows two contradictory perspectives held by Zhikong. One explicitly contradicts the other. This scenario is an allusion to the classic Buddhist paradox of form vs. (middle way vs.) emptiness. In one (the earlier) situation, Zhikong was disappointed by the lack of respect or compassion other monks showed toward the emperor. By doing so they demonstrated lack of comportment, implying that they were not following precepts. In the other (later) situation, Zhikong referred to himself as the ruler of all, and asserted that everyone served him. The implication is that this included the emperor. The emperor, upon hearing this, admitted that such a perspective was fitting for a monk who had become the the "king of the Law (*fazhong wang* 法中王)," implying an enlightened Buddhist monk or a *bodhisattva*. The pair of situations offers a scenario that makes the reader think deeply about which of the two opposing perspectives demonstrated by Zhikong is the correct one to have. In this sense, it serves the function of a "public case." The answer is both. The first perspective, symbolizing conventional truth or form, is proper for one who has not yet realized enlightenment to follow and is still attached to the conventional, *samsaric* world. The second perspective, symbolizing ultimate truth or emptiness, is proper for one who has realized enlightenment and so has transcended attachment to the conventional, *samsaric* world.

For one who has "reached the other shore," meaning one who has realized enlightenment, the praxis of following the precepts and rules of comportment to the letter all the time is too limiting. This is implied in Zhikong's statement in which he referred to himself as the ruler of the entire world. A superficial reading of this statement suggests it is an outrageous pronouncement. However, in the Buddhist context and for one who has realized enlightenment, this statement of

his achievement and position is not unique. By having transcended his attachment to this *samsaric* world of suffering, he can assert control over and domination of it. This is the meaning of this statement. The unhindered and unrestrained flexibility and freedom of following "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" is the way of one who is the "king of the Law." The following of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" is once again depicted in a scenario in the travelogue of Zhikong text as Zhikong's representative praxis of keeping the middle way between two extremes; of not "having to" follow either way.

How was Zhikong able to support his ten-year life of reclusion after "taking off (his) monk's robe?" The following passage offers some insight into this. This passage occurs in the travelogue text, between the two preceding passages just discussed.

[The] Master took off [his] monk's robes after the Tianli [period. [The] wife of [a] high official of the Imperial Treasury, [who was] a Goryeo person [of the] "Kim clan," "left home." [She] bought a residence [in the] Chengqing district [and] converted [it] into a Buddhist temple as [the] Master's dwelling. [The] Master wrote on [the] inscription board. [It] said: "[This is the] Source of the *Dharma* [, as] all the rivers under heaven run from west to east."

師自天曆褫僧衣。大府大監察罕帖木 兒之室金氏 亦高麗人也。從師出家。買宅澄清里. 闢為佛宮。迎師居之。師題其額 曰:法源。蓋天下之水 自西而東.[479]

In the passage above, how Zhikong was able to sustain himself after the Tianli period ended is clarified. There was a member of the Mongol royal family who was a high official of the Imperial Treasury named Chahan Temür (察罕帖木兒大, 찰한첩목아).[480] His wife, a person from Goryeo, of the "Kim clan (김, Jin *shi* 金氏)" was one of Zhikong's major sponsors. She "left her family (*chujia* 出家)," meaning that she renounced secular life and her family in order to become a Buddhist. This means that she took vows from Zhikong to be his disciple, bought a house in the

[479] T.2089. 51, 9084b-c.
[480] Chahan Temür was one of the leaders of a successful Uigur (Huiqi 回訖) military campaign against the "Red Turban Bandits (Hongjin zei 紅巾賊)" in 1351. See Zefen Li (李則芬), *New Lectures on the History of the Yuan* (元史新講), 5 vols. (Taibei: Zhonghua shuju, 1978).

Chengqing district (澄清里) for him, and then helped him make it into a Buddhist temple.[481] So, it seems that this house that was originally bought by a female patron for Zhikong to stay in was the building that soon became known as Fayuan Temple. This is a logical assumption because, on the inscription board of the converted building in the Chengqing district, Zhikong wrote "the source of the *Dharma* (*fayuan* 法源)." Zhikong would live most of his life in Fayuan Temple. Just like all of the major rivers in the Yuan ran from west to east, Buddhism had come from the west to the east. Zhikong himself also had actually come from the birthplace of Buddhism in the west, in order to propagate the true teaching of Buddhism there in the Yuan in the east. Thus, he was the (new) source of the *Dharma*, or the embodiment of the "initial source of nature (*yuanchu xing* 原初性)," for those in the Yuan and Goryeo.

And, as already mentioned, a number of wives of influential officials, and who were probably Goryeo ladies, were lay Buddhists or disciples of Zhikong. Suh and Lee[482] also write about the Goryeo woman who was the wife of Chahan Temür. Another female patron, who was named Mi (미, Wei 未), was the wife of the Prime Minister. Sponsorship for Zhikong's life in the Yuan capital was supplied for the most part by or arranged through members of the Goryeo expatriate community there. The "source of the *Dharma* flowing from the west to the east" in the inscription was Zhikong himself. The implication is that his natural life-course, like the rivers of the country, was to go from the west, the source of the *Dharma*, to the east, where the *Dharma* was lacking, in order to spread the *Dharma*.

The following passage jumps ahead in time more than ten years later, to at least past 1341 which is the beginning of the Zhizheng (至正) period (1341-1368 C.E.). This passage records Zhikong's suggestion that Buddhism and Buddhists could aid in the rule of the nation even under a Neo-Confucian ideological ruling perspective.

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[481] Gwon 1986, 435-438.
[482] Suh and Lee 1989, 29.

[In the] Zhizheng [period, the] Empress and the Crown Prince received [him in the] Yanhua Pavilion [and] asked about [the] *Dharma*. [The] Master said: "Those who study to possess the Buddha *Dharma* are engrossed in defending the fortune of [all] under heaven." [Zhikong] also said: "Ten-thousand blessings! Ten-thousand blessings! [He of] ten-thousand [but who] lacks one cannot rule [all] under heaven."

至正皇后皇太子 迎入延華閣 問法。師曰。佛法自有學者 專心御天下幸甚. 又曰。萬福福福 萬中缺一。不可為天下主.[483]

The passage shows that Zhikong was taking into account the then-current very unstable political climate that plagued the Zhizheng period, and that would ultimately end the Mongol-led Yuan dynasty. He demonstrated that he was attentive to the growing rise in acceptance of Neo-Confucianism by discussing the *Dharma* in this context in front of the Empress and Crown Prince. The compiler, Minji, applied Buddhist concepts and Confucian terminology, thus suggesting a view that Buddhism, specifically Zhikong's style of Buddhism, could be appropriated in augmenting Confucian-directed rule.

The Zhizheng period was from 1341 to 1368 C.E. Zhikong had come out of his period of self-imposed isolation around 1340 or 1341. Some time after that, Zhikong was asked by the Empress and the Crown Prince to come to court and discourse on the *Dharma* at the Yanhua Pavilion. The "Empress and Crown Prince" mentioned in the text at this point could very well be Shundi's Goryeo concubine, the aforementioned Lady Gi, and her son named Ayushiridar. He was born in 1339 when Shundi's first Empress was still alive. However, Lady Gi did not officially become the Empress until 1365. Nonetheless, she had been a sponsor of Zhikong since shortly after she arrived in the Yuan from Goryeo in the early 1330s, and Yi Saek wrote the above portion of Zhikong's travelogue in 1377.

According to Puggoini's[484] translation of the accounts in the *Collected Records of Goryeo Historical Materials of the Yuan Period*[485] involving a Goryeo concubine, referred to as Empress

[483] T.2089. 51, 0983a.
[484] T. Puggioni, "A Koryo Court Lady in 14th Century Yuan China: Empress Ki and Her Role in the Promotion of Buddhism," in *History, Language and Culture in Korea: Proceedings of the 20th Conference of the Association of Korean Studies in Europe (AKSE)*, ed. Y. Pak & J. Yeon (London: Eastern Art Publishing, 2001), 199-215.

Gi,[486] of the last Yuan emperor Shundi (順帝, r. 1333-1370 C.E.), she would become the primary empress in 1365. During the first half of the 14th century, political, social and cultural relations between the Yuan and Goryeo dynasties expanded to all levels of society, especially in the Yuan capital. There were literally tens of thousands of members of the Goryeo expatriate community in the capitals of the Yuan. These included members such as prisoners of war, artisans, priests, scholar-officials, government officials, and especially Goryeo women.

The peace treaty set up in the late 13th century[487] between Yuan and Goryeo stipulated the regular payment of tribute, including the offering of religious functions at Goryeo Buddhist temples, male children to become eunuchs at court, and women from the Goryeo aristocracy to be wives of the Yuan royalty or ladies-in-waiting at the Yuan court.[488] Many of these female figures supported Goryeo-affiliated Buddhist temples in Dadu, and by this time these temples "had sprung up in great numbers so as to become as numerous as almost facing each other"[489] to serve the ethnic Korean residents in the capital that numbered close to one hundred thousand.

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[485] *Hanguk pulgyo chonso* (*Complete works of Korean Buddhism*) 1984.

[486] Empress Gi was a concubine of the Yuan Emperor. She was from Goryeo. Her son was the next in line after the death of the Emperor's son from the first empress.

[487] The initial Mongol invasion of Goryeo was in 1238. In the 1250s and 1270s, the northern provinces of Goryeo were annexed by and incorporated into the Yuan.

[488] In Goryeo in 1170 C.E., a group of military leaders successfully revolted and installed a new king. With this new ruler, they were able to purge rich, landowning civilian aristocrats who had been supported by the corrupt Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*. The landowning aristocrats and the Buddhist *sangha* had long enjoyed the growth of their landholdings. This revolt ended that symbiotic relationship, and initiated almost a century of military rule in 1270 in Goryeo that would end at the hands of the invading Mongols beginning in 1231. With this initial invasion, the Goryeo rulers fled the capital at Gaegyeong and held out on Ganghwa Island, off the west coast of the peninsula and northwest of today's Seoul. There, they could not be attacked by the Mongols, who countered by slaughtering the peasants on the peninsula. However, the Goryeo rulers could not continue to allow the peasantry to be slaughtered, so they left Ganghwa Island and surrendered to the Mongols in 1259.

A civilian leadership replaced the military one, allowing the Goryeo dynastic succession to continue, but under Mongol control. Kublia Khan gave his daughter to the Goryeo crown prince in 1274, and he became King Chungyeol (충렬왕, Zhonglie wang 忠烈王) in 1275. This was the beginning of the Mongol's process of "genetically conquering" Goryeo. During the Yuan, no less than seven Mongol princesses were married into the Goryeo royal family. However, the increased interaction between Goryeo and the Yuan led increasing to Goryeo women becoming concubines of Mongol rulers, noblemen and officials. The son and crown prince of the Goryeo concubine Gi, the Second Empress, represents the culmination of the Goryeo "genetic conquest" by the Mongols. Mongol domination of Goryeo continued from 1270 to the end of the Goryeo dynasty, in 1392. See Peter H. Lee, Youngho Ch'oe and Hugh Kang, eds., *Sources of Korean Tradition, Vol. 1* (Columbia University Press, 1996); John Dardess, "Shun-ti and the End of Yuan Rule in China," in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 6, Alien Regimes and Border States, 907-1368*, ed. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and William E. Henthorn, *A History of Korea* (New York: The Free Press, 1972).

[489] T. Puggioni 2001, 203.

Lady Gi initially served tea at receptions when she first arrived in Dadu at the beginning of the 1330s. She was initially introduced to Shundi by the Goryeo eunuch Go Yongbo, and in 1339 she bore Shundi a son named Ayushiridar. Gi's son was installed as heir apparent in 1353.[490] Lady Gi eventually became the last Yuan primary empress, after the death of the primary Empress Bayan Khutukh (r. 1335-1365 C.E.) in 1365,[491] due to having borne Shundi's son and her shrewd political positioning vis-à-vis other contenders after the death of the first empress. After the fall of the Yuan in 1368, Gi fled to Yingchang (應昌), north of Shangdu, where Toghun Temür died in 1370. At that time, her son Ayushiridar ascended the throne in exile in Yingchang and Gi became the Empress Dowager. However, shortly after that she disappeared.

Gi was probably a lay Buddhist when met Zhikong almost as soon as she arrived at the Yuan capital in the early 1330s. This is a clear indication of Zhikong's prestige and fame among the Goryeo expatriate community in the Yuan. Gi was an early and major sponsor of Fayuan Temple,[492] which Zhikong lived in during Emperor Wenzong's reign (1329-1332 C.E.). In addition to her support of Zhikong, due to her faith in Buddhism and patronage of Buddhist temples through the offices of Goryeo eunuchs in the Yuan capital starting in the 1330s, Gi exerted a pervasive influence in the ethnic Goryeo population in the capital, and especially the Goryeo Buddhist community there, for decades. Due to her relationship with Shundi, Gi was able to acquire vast tracts of landed property in several provinces and the right to exact taxes from them. It was through this that she was able to expand her engagement in charity works.

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[490] Ayushiridar was initially taught by a Confucian scholar, but came to study Buddhism after hearing about it from Zhikong as well as a lay Buddhist from Goryeo. See Song Lian (宋濂), "Li Haowen Historical Biography 70 (李好文列傳 70)," In *Yuan Shi* (元史) (ca. 1370), 183 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1976).

[491] There is evidence that Gi may have become Empress as early as 1340. Certainly, as her son was born in 1339, she would have received an elevation in status vis-à-vis other concubines. In fact, Mote (1999, 580) and Hsiao (1893, 231-262) hold that Shundi made Concubine Gi the "second empress (*di er huanghou* 第二皇后)" when Ayusiridara was born in 1339, an act opposed to by many Mongols given their perception of Koreans and the complex relations the Yuan court had with Goryeo. See Mote 1999; and Ch'i-ch'ing Hsiao, *Yuandai shi xintan* (元代史新探). Taipei: Hsin wen-feng ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1983.

[492] Today, there is a temple named Fayuan Temple (法源寺) in the Xuanwu district (Xuanwu qu 宣武區) of Beijing. However, this temple was called Da Minzong Temple (大憫忠寺) during the Yuan. Da Minzong Temple did not come to be named as Fayuan Temple until the Qing dynasty. Because so many of the Goryeo monks and devotees that associated themselves with Zhikong in the Yuan capital of Dadu (Beijing) met with him in Fayuan Temple that it was known as "Goryeo Temple. (고려사, Gaoli sa 高麗寺)" among Goryeo expatriates living there. See Heo 1997, 58.

In this passage, Zhikong said that those who devoted themselves to the study of Buddhism were also focused on defending or controlling the fortune of the empire, so if the ruler ignored the needs of even one person he was not fit to rule the nation. This political statement invokes Buddhist concepts, representative of Zhikong's thought, that were also applicable to rule. One is the concept that "all things are contained in one (*yiqie jiyi* 一切卽一)," which means that interpenetration of each thing with all other things is the nature of existence. In Buddhism, it means that an enlightened person knows that he is, through the fundamental concept of compassion, connected with all other people. Politically, it implies that all people in the nation want it to succeed, and each has his or her place and position or vocation with which to contribute. This invokes the Neo-Confucian conceptualizations of ordering oneself first in order to ultimately order the world. While not directly saying so, it also implies that every person, as well as the Emperor, is valuable as an intricate part of the right structure and working of the nation. Here we see a harmonizing of the Buddhist concept of compassion for all with the Neo-Confucian view of the nation and everyone in it in familial terms. The implication is that this harmonized with the Buddhist thought of Zhikong.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I followed Zhikong's footsteps throughout the Yuan and Goryeo. The discussion of the historical context of the royal, Buddhist (specifically the Esoteric school), and economic ties between Magadha and the Shu-Ba (Sichuan) and Yunnan regions offered intriguing possibilities. As Zhikong lived in the southwest of the Yuan for up to eight years, he could have planned to do so right from the time he left Magadha. He seemed to have come into his own concerning his confidence and ability in teaching and proselytizing among the many peoples in the southwest. Perhaps, like his close ties with the minoritized Korean expatriate population in the Yuan capital, his form of Buddhism was more closely associated with the forms of Buddhism of

the minority peoples of the southwest. Nonetheless, by the 1340s he had become quite well established in the Yuan capital.

In the following chapter, I first contextualize the historical challenges that faced the Han Chinese Chan Buddhist *sangha* in the Yuan. This situates what I discuss next; the particular representative concepts that comprised Zhikong's mature Buddhist thought, teaching and practice.

CHAPTER 5: ZHIKONG AND BUDDHISM IN THE YUAN – ADOPTION, ADAPTATION OR APPROPRIATION?

By the beginning of the 14th century in both the Yuan and Goryeo, Buddhism had not only taken on cultural elements through adaptation and compromise but it was also in the process of undergoing radical changes due to the unstable political milieu of both states. Each state's Buddhist *sangha* was experiencing a crisis of identity. As is discussed in chapters three and four, Indian and Sri Lankan had already undergone radical changes. The results of these changes were incorporated in the forms of Buddhism Zhikong studied or was exposed to in those countries, and informed his own expression of Buddhism. On this point, Zhikong offered, both through his thought and the unique background from having been from and educated at Nālandā and in its system, a model for the restoration for Yuan and Goryeo Buddhism as an individual who was representative of the historical present of Indian Buddhism. However, during the Mongol Yuan and into the Ming, Zhikong's thought did not have as much of an impact on Buddhism in China as it did on the Korean peninsula.

In the first section of this chapter, I discuss the challenges of the Chinese Chan school and sects during the Yuan, in order to introduce the relevant issues in the historical context that may contributed to Zhikong and his thought not being as accepted by various peoples in the Yuan as it was among the Koreans there and in Goryeo. It appears that even the mere maintenance of a Chinese Chan Buddhist *sangha* presence in the Yuan capital required changes in Chinese Chan sects' relationship with each other vis-à-vis the Daoists and the Neo-Confucian literati, and especially with the Mongols (with their unique structural aspects of rule) and, later, the Tibetan Lamaists. Specifically, I discuss the significance and role of new monastic codes introduced during the Yuan. The concepts and forms of Chinese Chan *sangha*'s "pure rules of Chan (*Chanmen qinggui* 禪門淸規)" precepts system did not match as well with those of Zhikong's

soteriological paradigm of practice based on "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." On the other hand, I discuss in chapter six that those of the Goryeo Seon Order's "*bodhisattva* precepts (*pusa jie* 菩薩戒)" system did seem to match well with Zhikong's precepts system paradigm.

In the second and more in-depth section of this chapter, through my translations and discussions of passages from primary sources, I explicate the representative concepts of Zhikong's thought and soteriological paradigm of practice. I first deal with the various conceptualizations of "essence (*ti* 體)." Next, I explore the soteriological "process" of revealing "true emptiness without perceptual characteristics (*zhenkong wuxiang* 眞空無相)." The beginning of practice is the following of precepts to the letter. Zhikong's ultimate "aim" of practice is the experience of "contemplative realization (*guannian* 觀念)" of the "initial source of nature (*yuanchu xing* 原初性)," or the realization of awakening to one's "essence." After that, practice becomes cultivation, or perpetuation of the "state" of realization through the subsequent "cultivation of enlightenment (*xiudao* 修道)." What was, prior to realization, the activity of a "cognizing (discriminating) mind (*shixin* 識心)" that perceives the relativity of "essential nature and characteristics, being and non-being (*xingxiang youwu* 性相有無)" becomes, contingent upon realization, the "activity" of the "mind of pure nature (*xingxin* 性心)," or "Buddha-mind (*foxin* 佛心)" that "resides in unimpeded and unmoving awareness (*zizai budong* 自在不動)," or "emptiness thought (*kong sixiang* 空思想)." One's inherent "essence" is revealed through "true emptiness without perceptual characteristics." Thirdly, I explain the practical process of enacting the aforementioned "three practices (*sanxue* 三學);" namely the "precepts, meditative contemplation and wisdom (*jie ding hui* 戒定慧)." Finally, I discuss how Zhikong's paradigm valorizes a life lived with a worldview of "interpenetration (*yiqie jiyi* 一切卽一)," specifically

"interpenetration and non-obstruction (*rongtong wiau* 融通無礙)," which means a life of creative individuality based in the enactment of the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts."

The ideological origins of many of these concepts that constitute Zhikong's thought are found in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. While Zhikong also made liberal use of Buddhist verses, sermons, holy words, or precepts to indicate the point of a particular teaching, as a teaching tool, he did not use them to indicate static, unambiguous meanings. He emphasized creativity in the personal expression of "original essence (*benti* 本體)" or "true essence (*shiti* 實體)."

Contextualizing the Challenges of the Chan Buddhist *Sangha* during the Yuan

Contextualizing the challenges that the Chan Buddhist *sangha* was dealing with during the Yuan in this chapter, and doing the same for the Jogye Seon Buddhist Order during the latter half of the Goryeo in chapter six, offers insights into why Zhikong and his thought were more successful among Koreans in the Goryeo and early Joseon than among Han Chinese during the Yuan and early Ming. The prevailing attitude of the Chinese Buddhists in Yanjing (Dadu) from when the city was taken by the Mongols in 1215 to the mid-Yuan Dyansty period was that of a wait-and-see approach. They had to ascertain how to deal with the incoming Mongol rulers, with the Daoist organizations that the Mongols supported, and later, the influence later in the Yuan court of Tibetan Lamaism. Jan suggests that Chinese Buddhism continued to be successful in Dadu due to the accommodating attitude of the leaders of Chinese Buddhism.[493] Their scholarship, their broad understanding of the "Three Teachings," and their somewhat unorthodox presentation of Buddhism suited the Mongol leadership's liberal attitude toward religion. Jan also suggests that the manner in which the Buddhists in Dadu were dealing with key issues confronting them during the first half of the Yuan period was a reflection of the reaction and adaptation to Mongol conquest and rule. The response was reactive, and thus their success was limited. In the final

[493] Yun-hua Jan, "Chinese Buddhism in Ta-tu: The New Situation and New Problems," in *Yuan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion under the Mongols*, ed. Hok-lam Ch'an and William de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 404.

analysis, Jan sees the success as merely the maintenance of a Chinese Buddhist *sangha* presence in Dadu, and feels that the Chan school accepted and integrated, and thus was changed by its involvement in, literary scholarship as well as the views of other religious traditions.[494]

Prior to the Mongol invasion of China at the beginning of the 13th century, the Chan school and its sects were prominent in relation to the religious Daoism Quanzhen (全真) sect and the Buddhist Disciplinary (*Vinaya*) school, as Chan was receiving imperial patronage.[495] However, the Mongols were disinterested in the schools and sects of Buddhism of the Han Chinese, and as a consequence the Chinese Buddhist sects and schools lost most of their novices and properties as many temples were seized by Daoists.[496] No temples were constructed and no new priests were ordained in the early decades of the Mongol takeover of the capital. The process of regaining the lost properties did not begin until well after the mid-13th century through the perceived Buddhist victory over Daoism in the famous Buddhist-Daoist debates of 1255, 1258 and 1281.

During the transition period to Mongol dynastic rule,[497] the Chinese Caodong sect (曹洞宗) patriarch Xingxiu (行秀, 1166-1246 C.E.) seems to have been the most important leader, partly due to his understanding and embrace of Confucian teachings as well as his eagerness to work with the Mongol rulers as a link between them and the Chan Buddhists. However, by the mid-13th century, the Confucian elites and Tibetan Lamaists (Xizang majiao 西藏喇嘛教) gained in their

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[494] The situation for Buddhism in the Yuan capital, called Yanjing (燕京) at the beginning of Mongol rule but later called Dadu and then Beijing, was precarious after the Jin emperor Xuanzong (宣宗, r. 1213-1224 C.E.) abandoned it in 1215 and fled south. As a consequence of this and new rulers being disinterested in Chinese Buddhism, the Buddhist *sangha* lost most of their novices and properties, and many temples were seized by Daoists. See Jan 1982, 376.

Eminent Chinese Chan monks guided the *sangha* through the transition period, the first half or the pre-dynastic portion of Mongol rule, through their relationships with the Mongol rulers. These include the Caodong monk Xingxiu (行秀, 1166-1246 C.E.), his disciple Yelu Chucai (耶律楚材, 1189-1243 C.E.), and Li Junfu (李純甫, a.k.a. Li Pingshan 李屏山, 1185-1231 C.E.). Linji and Yunmen (雲門) sects were the other two main Chinese Chan sects at the beginning of Mongol rule. Confucianism had begun reasserting it influence in thought and governance through Neo-Confucianism. As well, all three of these thought forms accepted the idea of the utility and syncretism of the Three Teachings; namely governance of the state through Confucianism, personal cultivation through Daoism, and control of one's mind through Buddhism. All three thought forms were active in their associations with the Mongol rulers. For the Chan school, this was done to support the *sangha* and to revive its monasteries.

According to Jan, Yelu offered security to monks in the Yuan capital during this time of uncertainty, supported the compilation of key Buddhist literary works, successfully advised against the conscription of monks into military service, and pushed for reforms to raise the standards of monks with the state's support. See Jan 1982, 380-384.

[495] Ch'en 1964, 411-414.

[496] Jan 1982, 376.

[497] While the Mongols took Yanjing in 1215, the Yuan Dynasty did not officially begin until 1271.

utility to the Mongol rulers compared with the Chan Buddhists. The Mongols expected to receive spiritual benefits for the empire through their support of religious services, ceremonies and festivals.[498] This expectation was instrumental in the Mongol support of Tibetan Lamaism as the state religion. As well, after the ascension of Lamaism, Daoist and Confucian sites, as well as Chan sect temples and properties, were converted to sites for the use of the official Tibetan Buddhist order. Jan asserts that it was the death of Haiyun Yinjian (海雲印簡, 1203/7-1257, Haiyun Dashi 海雲大師, 1203-1257 C.E.) that began the decline of the influence of Han Chinese-led Buddhism in the Yuan, "as the Confucian elite began to play a greater role in the civil service and Tibetan priests had control over religious affairs."[499]

From then on, there was relatively limited official support for the Chinese Chan *sangha*. Nonetheless, this spirit of tolerance held by the leaders and main figures of Chinese Chan sects served Han Chinese Buddhists well during the Yuan period. The existing (and declining) Chan sects were forced to work together with each other merely to survive. Jan characterizes the Chinese Buddhist reaction to the dominance of Tibetan Buddhists in Dadu "as a mixture of limited cooperation, passive acceptance, silent rejection and a certain degree of resentful accommodation."[500]

A key development in Chinese Buddhism that was due in part to the need to respond to the loss of relative influence at court occurred in the thought of one of Haiyun's disciples, named Conglun (從倫). In 1272 an edict was issued ordering Conglun to appear at the palace to lecture on Chan. He discussed on the source of Chan based on the views of Zongmi (Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 780-841 C.E.) in his work, *Explanations on the Source of Chan* (*Chanyuan juan* 禪源詮). Jan asserts that the Conglun's Zongmi-inspired philosophical position presented to the emperor, that interrelating doctrine with practice within a spirit of tolerance among the different sects,

[498] Ibid., 404; and *Yuanshi* 5:88, 6:110, 7:142.
[499] Ibid., 390;. See also Heller 2005, 29-30.
[500] Jan 1982, 399-402.

served Buddhists well during the Yuan period by "reconciling and consolidating all the Buddhists from within."[501] This Zongmi-inspired paradigm shift in orthodox Chan Buddhist thought greatly influenced the Chan Buddhists in the Yuan capital. A similar Zongmi-inspired shift had already occurred in the much more Hwaeom (Huayan) thought-influenced Goryeo Seon Buddhist *sangha* almost a century before, in the late 12th century and in the thought of the Goryeo monk Jinul. I discuss the significance of this in chapter six.

However, after the Mongols adopted Lamaism officially in 1268, the Lamaist Imperial Preceptors came to wield great influence, as the position of Preceptor included being the chief leader of the Chinese Buddhist *sangha* as well.[502] The Bureau for Tibetan and Buddhist Affairs (Xuanzheng yuan 宣政院) controlled temples and the clergy, issued ordination certificates, appointed abbots, and kept order over the entire Buddhist *sangha* throughout the Yuan state as well as Tibet. The pervasive influence of Tibetan Buddhism in the capital was not taken well by the Chinese Buddhist *sangha* and Chan sects in the south. Under Mongol rule, Buddhist rites and protective deities from the Tibetan tantric tradition were adopted into Yuan dynasty imperial ceremonies,[503] and this contributed to the weakening of support for the emperor among the Han Chinese. This was also the case for Goryeo imperial ceremonies. Yu also writes that the Qing historian Zhao Yi (趙翼, 1727-1814 C.E.) recorded what he saw as the wasteful excesses of the Mongol-supported Lamaist Buddhist establishment, which included extravagant construction projects, expensive Lamaist rituals, and the amnesties given to them by the Mongols to receive religious merit. In fact, the Ming cultural historian Zhang Pu (張溥, 1602-1641 C.E.) asserted that the fall of the Yuan had been due to the depravity of emperor Shundi (順帝, Toghan-Temür) and his practice of Tantric sexual rites, such as the "esoteric *samadhi* of great joy (*mimi daxile*

[501] Ibid., 396-397.
[502] Chüng-fang Yu, "Chung-feng Ming-pen and Ch'an Buddhism in the Yuan," in *Yuan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, ed. H.L. Chan and W.T. de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
[503] Herbert Franke, "From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God: the Legitimation of the Yuan Dynasty," in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. Herbert Franke. Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1994, 59-60.

chanding 秘密大喜樂禪定)," at court under the direction of Tibetan Lamas. Zhang Pu wrote that Shundi and others at court had:

> "recommended monks of Tibetan esoteric religion and as a result, men and women shared the same palace, ruler and ministers jested with each other. Thus the country was lost… Lamas…. persuaded the ruler saying that human life was short and one should be initiated into "esoteric *samadhi* of great joy"… Toghan-Temür listened and consequently forgot the world… The worshipping of the Buddha in the Yuan was a custom of the barbarians… This is why the Yuan could not last long."[504]

Herbert Franke cautions against accepting without question the anti-Lamaism bias in the writings of Han Chinese scholar-official historians, specifically "the almost universal bias of Chinese historians against Buddhism as such and against Lamaism in particular."[505] As already mentioned, this bias included associating Lamaists with practices that may have been more closely associated with "*mantra* masters (*zhoushi* 咒師)" from Tibet that were also active in the Yuan capital. Nonetheless, along with Chinese Buddhists, these historians must have perceived the high prestige and many privileges that the Mongols afforded the Lamas as excessive. The impression in primary sources written by Chinese historians is that the Lamas took these privileges for granted due to the spiritual authority and legitimation they granted the Mongol rulers through the performance of costly rituals. Thus, as Franke asserts, "Lamaism and the actions of Tibetan Lamas in China were antagonistic and even provoked proto-nationalistic, anti-foreign feelings, not only among non-Buddhists intellectuals but even among Chinese Buddhist monks."[506] Also, the Mongols continued to patronize Daoism,[507] especially in the south, in part to counter the influence of Han Chinese Buddhists there.

Zhikong arrived in the Yuan capital for the second time in about 1323, and again, after his journey through Goryeo, to stay in 1328. During his decades in the capital, Zhikong lacked

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[504] Zhang Pu (張溥), "Postscript to Ch'en Pang-chan and Tseng Mou-hsun," *Yuan-shi chi-shih pen-mo* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935), 115.
[505] Franke 1997, 326-327.
[506] Ibid., p. 304.
[507] Daoism had affinities with Mongolian religious beliefs, such as shamanism, fortune-telling and divination. See K'o-k'uan Sun, "Yu Chi and Southern Taoism During the Yuan Period," in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

official contact with and support from the Mongol rulers, outside of the sphere of influence of Empress Gi and her son, as well as contact with Tibetan Lamaists. According to Frederick Mote, the death of Taiding in 1328 marked the turning point of the Yuan at which China-centered "Confucian" policies finally overtook Mongol-centered policies oriented toward the steppe.[508] From this point until the end of the Yuan and beyond, as recorded in the early Ming-compiled anti-Mongol rule *History of the Yuan* text, a negative perception of Mongol rule among the Han Chinese began to be more and more open and pronounced, especially among those of the scholar-official class that wrote and compiled records.

Mote also points out that by 1330, before the beginning in 1333 of the rule of the last Mongol Yuan emperor Shundi, it was clear that rule from the capital had become too weak to control the growing autonomy of the regional powers. Also, by the 1350s the six to eight contenders to the throne of Shundi, who had no heir, made the long-corrupt central government almost ineffectual in what had already become a highly militarized society.[509] Mote also writes that by the 1340s the Mongol Yuan central government was plagued with chronic revenue shortfalls. And, by the age of thirty-four in 1354, Shundi was already in semi-retirement. In addition, he had been regularly participating in sexual rituals of Tibetan Buddhism.[510] Historians of the time knew of this activity, and I have pointed out that modern scholars have affirmed this as well. Many also knew that tantric rites often had an explicitly sexual character, as sexual union between properly consecrated participants was an accepted practice toward enlightenment. Tantric art of the period depicts deities in sexual embrace. However, Chinese historians recorded these tantric activities, along with their traditional Confucian mindset of propriety, and attributed them to debauchery and depravity. By doing so, they downplayed or ignored the religious implications. The

[508] Mote 1999, 471. Just as Zhikong began his life in the Yuan capital at a time when those advocating Neo-Confucian thought in governance were gaining in influence structurally, near the end of his life and that of the Yuan the future Ming ruler strategically allied himself with influential members of the Neo-Confucian literati. During the Ming and Qing, the Neo-Confucian scholar official class would become more influential in governance vis-à-vis the emperor than it ever had before in Chinese history.
[509] Ibid., 518-519.
[510] Ibid., 579.

implication of this representation is that Tibetan Lamaism, all Lamas, and every one of the variety of tantric practices performed in Shundi's court (as well as in the Goryeo court) became tied to one another to the extent that the impression they left has been that all things Lamaist involved tantrism. This constitutes a misrepresentation. Due to the biases, misunderstandings or lack of understanding of Chinese historians concerning Tibetan Lamaism, the impression in the primary sources has been that all things they perceived as negative were associated with Lamaism. Therefore, what may have been activities and influences on the Yuan and Goryeo courts of the aforementioned Tibetan "*mantra* masters" were attributed simple to Lamaists. More research is required to clarify whether this was warranted.

The most significant development to the fall of the Yuan began in 1355. It was the rise of the Ming dynastic movement, based in the south in Nanjing and led by Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋). The movement's key consolidating event was the alliance it struck in between 1358 and 1360 with the leaders of a fundamentalist, Neo-Confucian-inspired moral and political revolution against the Yuan central government.[511] Zhu allied himself with leading figures of the Zhejiang (浙江), or Jinhua (金華), school of Confucian social thought and their proponents.[512] This was a key event in Zhu's ascension to power.

What does all this have to do with Zhikong? He both began his life in the Yuan capital during and passed away near the aforementioned two pivotal events in the preparation for and establishment of Neo-Confucianism as the guiding and later ruling foundation of Ming China and Joseon Korea. Aversion to the tantric rituals of the court was one of the few areas that Zhikong

[511] See Mote 1999, 581; John D. Langlois, "Political Thought in Chin-hua under Mongol Rule," in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 137-185; Franke and Twitchett 1994, 461-462; and David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China Under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990), 133.

[512] The Jinhua scholars added to the Neo-Confucian tradition a willingness to accept and promote the view "that dynastic institutions could be made to function well even in the absence of moral rulers." These scholars also offered a reformulation of the role of the scholar-official, still in the Confucian tradition, that merged Confucian learning with the duties of a clerk. Thus, even if there were a ruler unable or unwilling to submit himself to be educated in the Confucian tradition to become a "superior man," the scholar-official class could successfully administer the rule of the country. See Langois 1981, 184.

and members of the Chinese Chan *sangha*, the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*, and virtually all factions of both the Yuan and the Goryeo Neo-Confucian scholar-official class, agreed upon.

The Han Chinese Chan school and sects during the Yuan seemed to be so focused on preservation not only of their status but their very existence, as well as on recouping lost property and adherents. While they did share some views with Zhikong, they did not appear to be, or perhaps be able to be, receptive to the adoption or acceptance of him or his thought. The following discussion of Chan school monastic codes offers more insight into this.

Renovation of the Chan School's Monastic Codes System

Similar to the aforementioned situation in India and Sri Lanka shortly before and up to the time of Zhikong, the Chinese Chan *sangha* during the second half of the Yuan dynasty, from the 14th century up to the end of the Yuan was in a period of renovation concerning monastic codes. Yu writes about a crisis of authority in Chinese Buddhism, actually inherent to it, especially concerning the Chan schools and sects, and this crisis was reflected in what he refers to as "role model" literature. [513] The collection of "public cases," the compilation of "role model" literature, and the writing of monastic codes all began in the tenth and eleventh centuries, which was the "post-charismatic" age of Chan after all the great masters had passed on and the *sangha* feared the decline of the discipline. This literature served as a substitute for the absence of the charismatic authority of the great masters. As Jang Wu asserts concerning this period,[514] there had always been attempts by Chan monks to create alternate sources of authority even when the actual, personal authority of an enlightened master was available.

During the Song period, a number of monastic codes texts were compiled in order to establish a unified orthodoxy concerning rituals, monastic conduct, temple hierarchical structure, and other

[513] "Role model" literature refers to biographies of eminent monks as well as anthologies of sayings and deeds of early Chan masters. The collection of "public cases," the compilation of "role model" literature, and the writing of monastic codes all began in the tenth and eleventh centuries, a period known as the "post-charismatic" age of Chan when all the great masters had passed on and the *sangha* feared the decline of Chan discipline. See Yu 1982, 449-450.
[514] Wu 2002.

aspects.[515] Emphasis was on the valorization and prominence of "ritual (*li* 禮)" and a unified standard of behavior, thus contradicting the antinomian postures and assertions of freedom well-known as representative of the Chan school and its sects. All the codes equated monastic regulations with secular ritual (for the emperor, and thus the state) to varying degrees. These regulations are aimed at having the individual monk "preserve the mind in the Way (*xincun hu Dao* 心存乎道)." However, for those who had received the precepts and whose minds were in this state, there was no need for monastic regulation. This emphasis on the broader context of social order reflects the historical development of Chinese culture up to that time. Rituals connected the monk, and the monastery, to the (emperor and) state. Heller also asserts that "the priorities of the codes reflect the absorption of state values into the Chan monastic institution."[516] This literary genre served as a substitute for the absence of the charismatic authority.

At least four texts on monastic codes were written by members of Chan sects during the Yuan. The prevalence of new monastic code texts indicates the perception that there was a general laxity of monastic discipline and attempts to address this. Nonetheless, the issues related to foreign rule during the Yuan acerbated the situation concerning moral laxity of the Chinese Chan sects, and presented challenges to the dissemination and promotion of the variety of monastic codes, prior to and during the time of Zhikong. Foreign rule, moral laxity, loss of status and disciples, and competition for patrons not only with each other but also with the Mongol royal family-supported Tibetan Lamaism, growing Neo-Confucianism, and Daoism were some of the challenges in establishing a set of moral codes for Chan within the *sangha*.

The representative foundational work on religious rules in the Chinese Chan school and sects is *Baizhang's Pure Rules* (*Baizhang qingqiu* 百丈清規), originally set forth during the Tang by Baizhang Huaihai (百丈懷海, 720-814 C.E.) and later revised and compiled as the *Revision of*

[515] For a list of the main monastic codes texts and the significance of each for Chan monasteries, see Heller 2005, 175-197.
[516] Ibid., 178.

Baizhang's Pure Rules (*Chixiu baizhang Qingqiu* 敕修百丈清規) by Dongyang Dehui (東陽德輝) in 1335 during the Yuan at the request of the Yuan court. Baizhang regarded self-sufficiency of the Tang Chan monk as the foundation of life in Chan temples, and he also emphasized the independence of the *sangha* with respect to the secular (political) world.

In general, compared to their contemporaries in the more established, essentialist and study-oriented schools such as Huayan and Tiantai, but more importantly, compared to their contemporaries in the Goryeo Seon *sangha*, those in the sects of the practice-oriented Chinese Chan school adhered less stringently to the prescribed and more extensive "*bodhisattva* precepts (*pusa jie* 菩薩戒)" system that Tiantai and Huayan (and their Goryeo counterparts) and the Goryeo Seon *sangha* followed. Concerning precepts, there were other key differences between Chinese Chan and Goryeo Seon Buddhism. The number of precepts comprising the *bodhisattva* precepts collection was higher in number in the Goryeo Seon *sangha*, and the scope of involvement of the precepts in a practitioner's life was wider, than these were in the "pure rules of Chan (*Chanmen qinggui* 禪門淸規)" precepts collection in the Chinese Chan school context. In addition, the Chinese Chan sects were in general less aggressive structurally in terms of systematization and the "receiving of precepts (*shoujie* 受戒)" for new initiates than the Goryeo Seon *sangha*. The Chinese Chan sects famously tolerated unconventional behavior while considering precepts as restrictions that might hinder realization of "self-nature (*zhixing* 自性)." This trend was not as prevalent in the Goryeo Seon *sangha*. And, during the Yuan, the Chan school and sects began to emerge as a more dominant force vis-à-vis the older and formerly more established schools of Buddhism during the Song, such as the Huayan, Tiantai and Faxiang schools. On the other hand, with the establishment of the Jogye Seon Order by the late 12th century, this trend of Seon sects gaining preeminence vis-à-vis the established Hwaeom (Huayan) school and Disciplinary (*Vinaya*) school (Gyeyul jong 계율종, Jielü zong 戒律宗) schools had

begun earlier in the Goryeo. Nonetheless, along with these trends, the Yuan-period Chinese Chan *sangha* began to develop new and indigenous rules for Chan sects that were representative of the Chan religious culture yet flexibly reflected the idiosyncrasies of local indigenous cultures.

During the latter half of the Yuan, realization of awakening was the paramount emphasis of the Chinese Chan school and sects, but the importance of monastic discipline in the awakening "process" appears to have grown during the southern Song and Yuan. The emphasis on monastic discipline is the point at which Zhikong, Goryeo's Jinul and a certain leading figure of the Yuan-period Chinese Chan school converged. Zhongfeng Mingben (中峰明本, 1263-1323 C.E.) exemplified many of the traits associated with Yuan-period Chan Buddhism. Mingben became the eighteenth-generation heir of the Linji school, specifically of its Yangqi (楊岐) branch.[517]

Mingben specifically criticized two harmful tendencies among his fellow Chan adherents; sectarianism and the way of achieving awakening intellectually. He considered the enactment of the precepts as the activity by which one could be able to focus concentration on the "critical phrase" in all circumstances. And, the practice of "remembering the Buddha (*nianfo* 念佛)" was not to be used as an expression of one's piety or faith, as in the Pure Land sect, but as a means to end all discursive thought and to arouse the "feeling of doubt (*yiqing* 疑情)."[518] This was fundamental to Mingben's view of practice.

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[517] The Yangqi branch of the Linji Chan sect was based in the Southern Song capital of Kaifeng (開封), in Henan. The founder of the Yangqi branch of the Linji sect was Yangqi Fanghui (楊岐方會 992-1049 C.E.). Mingben's master was Gaofeng Yuanmiao (高峰原妙 1238-1295 C.E.). Yangqi Chan monks elevated the status and development of "meditative concentration on the public case (*gongan Chan* 公案禪)" or "meditation on the head phrase (*kanhua Chan* 看話禪)," which emphasized dwelling on the "critical phrase (*huatou* 話頭)" of the "public case" as the central practice of Linji Chan. They considered the dwelling on the "public case" as the most effective way to realize awakening, and that this would clearly separate Chan practice from other forms of Buddhist practice. See Yu 1982.

[518] Mingben's soteriological approach to Chan practice was three-fold. First, one was to become aware of one's mortality through personal effort. Second, one was to acquire the sense of "faith (*xin* 信)," grounded in one's own mind of original enlightenment and based on the understanding that one does have the "innately sufficient endowment" to be able to cease suffering through personal effort. The final stage was the experience of the realization of "sudden awakening (*wu* 悟)." See Yu 1982, 443-450.

There is no record of Mingben and Zhikong meeting, as Mingben died just around the time that Zhikong arrived in the Yuan capital, in 1323. However, they did share key aspects of thought and practice. Like Zhikong, Mingben advocated the view that Chan be fully compatible with the Disciplinary (*Vinaya*) school (Jielü zong 戒律宗).[519] Zhikong had studied this school. Mingben offered practical causes for why one could not realize "sudden awakening" that Zhikong would have agreed with, such as neglect of the "disciplinary rules (*jielǜ* 戒律)," or precepts, and absence of "personal effort (*gongfu* 工夫)." Mingben presented a soteriological paradigm that demanded a re-dedication to the training in the disciplinary rules, meditation and wisdom. On these points, this paradigm mirrored Zhikong's soteriological paradigm that also emphasized these "three teachings" and focused on the enactment of the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." Concerning the interaction with the royal family, Mingben participated in the continuation of a tradition by Chan monks; that of praying for the longevity and success of the emperor in exchange for protection and patronage.[520] He viewed this activity from a utilitarian perspective, as it enabled monks to be able to have the economic means with which to continue a life of religious cultivation. I have shown that this was also the perspective of Zhikong.

In 1317, at the age of 55, Mingben composed his *Pure Rules of Huanzhu* (*Huanzhu jingguii* 幻住清規)[521] as the code for his own Huanzhu monastery (幻住菴).[522] Mingben's composition predates three other major codes composed in the Yuan.[523] Mingben's soteriological approach to Chan practice through the application of "pure precepts (*jingjie* 淨戒)" is similar to Zhikong's

[519] Mingben also considered Chan to be compatible with the Pure Land school (Jingtu zong 净土宗) of Buddhism. There is no indication that Zhikong shared this view.
[520] Ibid., 451.
[521] Here is Mingben's work. Zhongfeng Mingben (中峰明本), Pure Rules of Huanzhu (Huanzhu jingguii 幻住清規), in *Dai Nihon Zokuzokyo* (大日本續藏經), Kyoto: Zokyo Shoin, (1905-1912) 2.16.5: 486b-506b.
[522] This was a code of monastic rules for his disciples that had attended his many retreats since the first one in 1298. It is comprised of the unwritten rules for the community that he had compiled in his earlier retreats. See Yu 1982, 428.
[523] The *Luyuan shigui* was compiled in 1325, the *Pure Rules of Baichang* (*Chixiu Baichang jinggui* 敕修百丈清規), for Chan monasteries, in 1336, and the Expanded and *Revised Pure Rules for Teaching Cloisters* (*Zengxiu Jiaoyuan jinggui* 增修教苑清規), for Tiantai monasteries, in 1347. They are all quite similar in content to each other and to Mingben's work. The prevalence of monastic codes is an indication that the general laxity of monastic discipline was not an unknown issue at the time.

soteriological approach to practice through the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." For both of them, enactment of the precepts in all situations should be the activity by which one is able to focus concentration on the "critical phrase (*huatou* 話頭)" in all states of mind, thus as a means to end all discursive thought. Therefore, the stage of practice at which one learns and internalizes the precepts is merely a preliminary stage of the "process" toward the post-realization state in which one enacts Mingben's "pure precepts," or Zhikong's "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." However, it was the aforementioned codes associated with Baizhang, not Mingben's monastic code, that garnered the most support among the Han Chinese Chan school during the Yuan period.

There are other similarities that the Mingben and Zhikong shared. Yu[524] points out that Mingben had disciples from Yunnan as well as Goryeo. Yu discusses a letter by Mingben to a disciple in Yunnan, in which Mingben explained the "three groups of pure precepts (*sanju jingjie* 三聚淨戒)," the most indispensible of all the precepts in the *vinaya* for one's release from *samsāra*. The first, "doing what worked for goodness (*sheshan fa* 攝善法)," meant cultivating all that is good. The second, "doing what pertained to dignified deportment (*shelüyi* 攝律儀)," meant doing no evil. The third, "doing what benefited all sentient beings (*raoyi youqing* 饒益有情)," meant saving sentient beings from *samsāra*. I have demonstrated that Zhikong also emphasized comportment and benefiting others, but in his own, and different, ways. The most obvious difference with Mingben is Zhikong's use of activities associated with tantrism, such as "true words" and *mantras*, which I expressed in chapter three as "mini *paritta* texts." Mingben asserted that the "three groups of pure precepts" could be contained in the Chan meditation on the "public case" or the "critical phrase (*huatou*)." He wrote:

> "When your mind and heart are filled completely with the *huatou* you are meditating on, you think of neither good nor evil. Since you have forgotten both good and evil, what need is there to talk about cultivation [of good] and stopping [of evil]? Also, when you are intensely concentrating on the *huatou*, you do not see any sentient being who is to be saved…. Thus,

[524] Yu 1982, 440-441.

although the *huatou* of Chan is not called the three groups of pure precepts, it in fact contains these pure precepts. There is no separation between the two."[525]

In chapter six, I continue the discussion of monastic codes by comparing Chinese Chan school's "pure precepts" with the "*bodhisattva* precepts" of Zhikong's and the Goryeo Seon Order (and based on Jinul's thought). The following sections are on Zhikong's thought.

Explicating the Key Concepts of Zhikong's Thought

"Essence"

Zhikong's conceptualization of "essence (*ti* 體)," which is also referred to as "true essence (*shiti* 實體)," or "essential self-nature (*zixing* 自性)," and "true nature (*shixing* 實性)" of all beings, is not unique in Buddhism. He perceived "essence" as similar to the East Asian Mahayana tradition's conceptualization of "Buddha-nature (*foxing* 佛性)," which is the universal potentiality of realization or enlightenment, or the original enlightened mind that has yet to be actualized. "Essence" also relates to "emptiness (*kong* 空)." Emptiness, as already discussed, is conceptually associated with "true (real) nature" as well as with "thusness (*zhenru* 眞如)."

The following passage offers an example that demonstrates how Zhikong's paradigm of practice provides a soteriological process by which "essence" or "Buddha-nature" can be made manifest via the realization of awakening, or enlightenment.

> [The] Master said: "Sentient beings and non-sentient beings all have the same [singular] "essence.""
> [A] question was asked: "If all have essence, [then] in what way do they live and die?"
> [The] Master said: "Originally they are without "arising and ceasing," [but] sentient beings lose touch with essence, and lose [their] way. They absurdly appear to live and die. The body is like empty space. [Even though] all living things in Heaven and on the earth are created and act, their self-nature is empty [and thus it] does not follow their movements. Although the "four great elements" and the "five aggregates" come and go, the essence of each being is rightly without movement. This is the meaning of emptiness!"

師云有情無情 悉同一體. 問曰: 人皆有體 如何生死.

[525] Zhongfeng Mingben (中峰明本), Extensive Records of Monk Zhongfen (Tianmu Zhongfeng heshang guanglu, 天目中峰和尚廣錄) (reduced ed. Kyoto, 1884), in Japanese Manji edition of the *Tripitaka*, 31.10.6 and 7.18: 653b-d.

師云: 本無生滅 衆生迷本失路 妄見生死 所以體 同虛空 天地萬物 雖生動轉 虛空自性不隨其動 四大五蘊 雖然來往 其體寂然不動 卽虛空之義也.[526]

In this passage, Zhikong described "essence" as it relates to "emptiness" or "true nature" or "thusness." Zhikong asserted that all sentient and non-sentient beings share an inherent quality or "essential nature." In the East Asian Mahayana tradition, this is generally referred to as "Buddha-nature." Zhikong was asked why it was that all beings "had to" enter into conditioned existence, and thus "had to" be in the cyclic existence of transmigration, of living and dying. He responded by stating that, in the absolute (essence) rather than relative (conditioned) sense, there is "originally no production and annihilation (*benwu shengmie* 本無生滅)," or no arising or ceasing: thus there is no *samsāra*, or continuous cyclical experience of birth and life and death. Essence is not produced or annihilated, nor does it arise or cease. It is "neither existent nor non-existent (*feiyou feiwu* 非有非無)."

However, in our perceived state of conditioned self-existence, we lose the awareness of this foundational essence. We instead take the phenomenal and conventional existence, the life and death and transmigration of *samsāra*, as the true reality. We absurdly perceive life and death as the reality of existence. All living things are born and move, meaning they "move (*dong* 動)" in the conventional world. In the context of Buddhism concerning this concept, "movement" refers to "acting with perception." This means that we act with the perception that there is a self, and that there are things in the conventional world which one also perceives and "acts with perception" in relation to. However, the "essence," or the foundational self-nature, is empty of any discriminating characteristics and of any "acts of perception." "Essence" does not move or change with them as they act in the world. In addition, "essence" does not merely or only "act with perception" of other things. Every thing moves and changes, but the "essence" of each being, of all beings, does not change or perceive, as it is empty of, and it has no, self-referential "marks (or characteristics) (*xiang* 相)" of conditioned existence. In this way, "essence" is "emptiness."

[526] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

On the other hand, the "four elements and five aggregates (*sida wuyun* 四大五蘊)" are different. They only move and change, and come and go. Thus are merely of the conventional (conditioned) and phenomenal world of *samsāra*, as is depicted in the following passage.

> [A] question was asked: "What is the marvelous function of "essence?""
> [The] Master said: "It is essence that "functions freely without constraints" and does not move."
> [A] question was asked: "How can it be called immovable?"
> The Master said: "[The] so-called "essential self-nature" does not generate agony. [Even though] 'adverse and favorable conditions' might appear, [essential self-nature] is not perturbed. Even though there are things [that] are moving, [self-nature] does not follow their movements. These are all what is called "immovable self-nature."

問曰: 此妙用中 以何爲體. 師云: 以自在不動爲體. 問曰: 何名不動耶. 師云: 所謂自性不作熱惱 雖現逆順 不隹陷墮 雖有動物 不隨其轉 此則名自在不動也.[527]

In this passage, Zhikong discussed the function of the "essential (or intrinsic) self-nature (*zixing* 自性)," or "essence," in the conventional or phenomenal world. Superficially, "essential self-nature" allows one the ability to change and adapt, and it is unimpeded with respect to the extent of the freedom with which it allows one to change or adapt. On the other hand and simultaneously, "essential self-nature" "resides in unimpeded and unmoving awareness (*zizai budong* 自在不動)," and thus is unchangeable and not agitated, no matter what the condition or situation might be (for the individual) in the phenomenal and conditioned (*samsaric*) world. Although the myriad things and sentient beings exist and change in the phenomenal world depending on conditions, their ability to do so is due to "essential self-nature," and this "essential self-nature" does not change. It is this immovable, unchanging, serene "essence" that allows each sentient being the potential to experience realization of the truth of the reality of things.

The concept of one's "original essence (*benti* 本體)" relates to the question of how life and death are related to the physical body. Zhikong held that "to reside in unimpeded and unmoving awareness (*zizao budong* 自在不動)," or "to function freely without constraints (*zizai* 自在)," and

[527] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

thus not move or "act with perception," is the fundamental attribute of "essence." This "original essence" is fundamental "true nature (*shixing* 實性)," and it functions even in the absence of the "act of perception" or movement of the body or the self. And, as it does not perceive, which is what sentient beings do, it does not suffer like sentient beings do. Thus, "original essence" is not subject to the perturbations of "*karma* (*ye* 業)," as the passage below indicates.

> [For] sentient beings and non-sentient beings, true [reality] is identical to essence (basically). [This essence is] the foundation which is not [ever] extinguished. When sentient beings are born, their [sense of their] foundation is confused and they lose their way, [and they] absurdly perceive "birth and death." [However] essence is like the empty void, Heaven, the world and all living things [in the world]. Although they all are born, move and change, "quiescent vacuity" is their "intrinsic self-nature." [Their self-nature] does not follow their movement. Although the totality of the "four great elements" and the "five aggregates" come and go, their [true] essence alone is immovable like this. This is the also meaning of the "vacuous void."
>
> 有情無情 實同一體 (中略) 本無衆滅 衆生迷本失路 妄見生死 所以體同虛空 天地萬物 雖生動轉 虛空自性 不隨其動 四大五蘊 雖然來往 其體寂然不動 卽虛空之義也.[528]

In this passage, Zhikong implied that all "sentient beings (*youqing* 有情)" and "non-sentient beings (*wuqing* 無情)," as well as the "four great elements," or the earth, water, fire, and wind that make up all things in the physical, *samsaric* world, are of the same foundational "true essence (*shiti* 實體)" which never extinguishes or is exhausted. Sentient beings lose awareness of this foundation, and thus absurdly perceive "birth and death"[529] as reality. The "five aggregates" signify the "five mental activities" that comprise each sentient being; namely "form, feeling, perception, intention, and consciousness (*se shou xiang xing shi* 色受想行識)." The "five aggregates" constitute a sentient being. The "five aggregates" are responsible for the perpetuation of the process resulting from the laws of *karma* through which sentient beings have the "ability" to "cling to (*tanlian* 貪戀)" "created or conditioned defilements (*youwei fannao* 有爲煩惱)." "True essence" is expressed through the "intrinsic self-nature" of each "five-aggregate-constituted" sentient being, not merely by the "movement," or perceptibility of action of the

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[528] *Chanyao lu* 1326.
[529] "Birth and death (*shengsi* 生死)" refer to "the cyclic existence of transmigration."

sentient being. Thus, each sentient being is simultaneously both empty of conditioned existence and conditioned. By suggesting that a characteristic of "intrinsic self-nature" is "quiescent and unmoving awareness (*jiran budong* 寂然不動)," Heo[530] relates Zhikong's description of the theory of the makeup of "true essence" to the "theory of original form or reality (*benti lun* 本體論)"[531] of Song Neo-Confucianism.

Buddhism holds that "true emptiness without perceptual characteristics (*zhenkong wuxiang* 眞空無相)" is the "fundamental and intrinsic essence" of all things. Zhikong asserted that the "four great elements" and "five aggregates" do not adequately give forms to or fully express "true emptiness." This is because "true emptiness" does not exhibit any tendency of "dichotomous (*liangfen fade* 兩分法的)" relativity.[532] Basically, to conceptualize "true emptiness" and concretize it in language is too limiting. Nonetheless, all the pairs of conceptualizations of "dichotomous relativity" are included in each of the terms that refer to "essence," such as foundational "true essence" and "intrinsic self-nature." This conglomeration of conceptualizations reveals "essence" through "true emptiness without perceptual characteristics." I discuss Zhikong's conceptualization of this in the following section.

Revealing "Essence" Through "True Emptiness without Perceptual Characteristics"

"Absence of perceptual characteristics" abides or "occurs" at neither one nor the other of a pair of opposing conceptualizations, as it is not, nor can it be expressed as, a thing that can be

[530] Heo 1997, 107.
[531] Baorui Du (杜保瑞), "The Study of Neo-Confucianism and the Basic Questions of Chinese Metaphysics (當代宋明儒學研究與中國形上學問題意識)," 哲學論集 34 期 (July 2001): 147-191.
[532] The concept, "dichotomous relativity," means that pairs of opposites do alone not adequately represent the scope of true reality, just as the classic early Buddhist conceptualization of the opposites, form and emptiness, do not adequately represent true reality. The pairs of apparent opposites include "existence and non-existence (*youwu* 有無)," "right and wrong (*shifei* 是非)," "clean and dirty (*jinggou* 淨垢), "long and short (*changduan* 長短)," or "motion and stillness (*dongjing* 動靜)." Being "without perceptual characteristics (*wuxiang* 無相)," or formless, is being "empty of characteristics (*kongxiang* 空相)."

conceptualized. According to Byeonguk Lee,[533] "true emptiness" focuses on the denial of excessive attachment, or the denial of "clinging," and the "absence of perceptual characteristics" focuses on confidently performing actions. I theorize that in Zhikong's thought these two represent, at the precise moment that the experience of realization or enlightenment occurs, the sudden culmination of a process by which opposing, contradictory, and dichotomous conceptualizations finally come to be enacted as a simultaneity. I propose that this is also the moment at which "true essence" is revealed.

I assert that this process toward this experience of simultaneity is represented by Zhikong's view of the state of mind with which one both practices the precepts prior to the experience of the realization of awakening, and subsequently cultivates the experience of realization by continued practice (enactment) of the precepts, however, now as the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts," with this state of mind of realization. Specifically, this means that, initially, one consciously, with his conditioned, "cognizing (discriminating) mind (*shixin* 識心)," chooses to follow and enact the precepts, and then does. Then, subsequent to the experience of realization, one "cultivates (*xiu* 修)" the "state" of "true mind (*zhenxin* 眞心)," which is expressed at and by the experience of realization, through continued following of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." According to Zhikong, cultivation of the ideal state of mind of realization is the state within which one is to relate to the world. One should not relate to the world with a mere "cognizing (discriminating) mind (*shixin* 識心)." As I discuss in chapter six, this is where Zhikong's thought coincides with the aspect of Jinul's thought, the "simultaneous cultivation of meditative concentration and wisdom (*dinghui shuangxiu* 定慧雙修)," which expresses and describes the re-conceptualization of practice when, upon the experience of realization of awakening, practice becomes cultivation of that realization.

[533] Lee 1996, 30.

In Buddhism, “true emptiness without perceptual characteristics (*zhenkong wuxiang* 眞空無相)” is the fundamental “essence,” “original essence (*benti* 本體),” “true essence (*shiti* 實體),” and “essential (intrinsic) self-nature (*zixing* 自性)” of all things. Lee[534] asserts that Zhikong taught a soteriological paradigm of practice, based on his personal interpretation of Buddhist teachings, through which one’s “essence” can be revealed. Lee holds that Zhikong regarded “true emptiness without perceptual characteristics” as the “doctrine (*zong* 宗)” by which to reveal “essence.”

> [A] question was asked: “What is [your] doctrine [concerning essence]?”
> [The] Master replied: ““True emptiness without perceptual characteristics” is [my] doctrine.”
>
> 問曰: 以何爲宗. 師云: 以眞空無相爲宗.[535]

With the passage above, Zhikong established a parallel between the fundamental “self nature” of all sentient beings and “essence.” This parallel allows “essence” to be conventionally perceived as something separate from not only any and every sentient being but also from every thing, or *dharma* (*fa* 法)” or “phenomenon (*shi* 事),” that can be conceptualized in the phenomenal world. The “essential nature” of every sentient being is “empty” of an independent self-nature that could separate it from all other sentient beings. This means that “essential nature” is imperceptible as well as devoid of a desiring (emotive) or “clinging” component. This distinguishes it from sentient beings and perceivable *dharmas*, or all things, in the phenomenal world. Also, that “essential nature” is truly “empty of perceptual characteristics,” or that it is “true emptiness without perceptual characteristics,” denotes that “essential nature” is both devoid of the marks or characteristics that distinguish it from all sentient beings and, at the same time, is fundamental to them. “Essential nature” is free and unimpeded, so it can be expressed as any form or being. Simultaneously, it is “quiescent,” so it is unchanging. Thus, “true emptiness without perceptual characteristics” is the unimpeded (unmoving, thus non-perceiving), quiescent

[534] Ibid., 15-50.
[535] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

(quiet and not perceivable as an entity, or *dharma*) and non-contrived (not conceived in any shape yet unchanging) "doctrine" by which "essence" may be revealed.

The following passage begins to offer an explanation.

> [A] question was asked: "What is "true emptiness without perceptual characteristics?""
> [The] Master said: "[It] refers to [one's] ground that is undefiled. None of the perceptual characteristics of the four elements and the five aggregates are its characteristics. This is the principle of "true emptiness without perceptual characteristics.""
>
> 問曰: 何名眞空無相. 師云: 所謂根不染塵 四大五蘊 不相其相 此則眞空無相.[536]

In this passage, Zhikong defined "true emptiness without perceptual characteristics" further as the "undefiled ground (*gen buran* 根不染)," meaning "essence," untainted by any relation to the conditioned existence of *dharmas* or things in the phenomenal world, or the fundamental basis of one's being that is not affected by circumstances or the environment. In addition, this "undefiled ground" cannot be affected or changed or tainted or habituated by external circumstances. Neither anything perceived in the phenomenal world by the "cognizing (discriminating) mind" nor any of the "four elements" or "five aggregates" that comprise the individual self and the phenomenal world is "essence." The perceptual characteristics of these phenomenal *dharmas*, or things, are not the "no perceptual characteristics" of "essence." Also, "essence" is fundamental to both the phenomenal world and the "five aggregates" of the perceived self, yet "essence" is neither attached to nor relies on either of these two. This is the principle of "true emptiness without perceptual characteristics," as is further defined in the passage below.

> [A] question was asked: "What are no defilements and non-abiding [of "true emptiness without perceptual characteristics"]?"
> [The] Master replied: "True emptiness is neither emptiness nor non-emptiness, neither characteristics nor non-characteristics, neither existence nor non-existence, neither nothingness nor non-nothingness, neither correct nor not correct, neither wrong nor not wrong, neither movement nor non-movement, and neither quiescent nor non-quiescent. Purity and impurity, [and] long and short, are entirely lacking at the origin. [This] is true emptiness. "Absence of perceptual characteristics" is exceedingly majestic. It shines brightly in all the ten directions, and is quiescent and motionless. [It has] no form and no perceptual characteristics, no image and no

[536] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

manifest appearance, [and] is not near and not far. Originally, it does not have thusness or the mind of pure nature. These express "absence of perceptual characteristics.""

問曰: 云何不染不住.　　師云: 眞空者 非空非不空 非相非不相 非有非非有 非無非非無 非是非不是 非非非不非 非動非不動 非靜非不靜 淨垢長接短源來俱無 斯則眞空也 無相者 巍巍堂堂 洞暎十方 杲杲明明 寂然不動 不形不相 不影不光 不速不返 相體性心本來非有 此爲無相也.[537]

In this passage, Zhikong discussed "no defilements (*buran* 不染)," meaning "no perceptual characteristics," and "non-abiding (*buzhu* 不住)" as they relate to "true emptiness without perceptual characteristics." In the conventional, phenomenal and *samsaric* world of perception, a perceptual characteristic is, in classical Buddhist terminology, a "defilement (*fannao* 煩惱)," or an affliction due to "clinging to" the phenomenal world.. Thus, it is neither "essence" nor "true nature." Through the application of the rhetorical device of negation, that "true emptiness" occupies neither side of opposing conceptualizations (of form and emptiness), Zhikong asserted that "true emptiness" cannot be conceptualized. As for "absence of perceptual characteristics or marks (*wuxiang* 無相)," meaning that which is devoid of "defilements," it extends and is everywhere yet it is "quiescent (*jiran* 寂然)," unperturbed, and does not move (meaning that it does not perceive) at all. Ultimately, "true emptiness" is not and can not adequately be expressed by either of two of Buddhism's fundamental conceptualizations used to refer to and describe it, namely "thusness as the essence of characteristics (*xiangti* 相體)" and the "mind of pure nature (*xingxin* 性心)),"[538] because these two both imply valorization of aspects of the phenomenal world of conceptualization.

The above passage also introduces the concept of "immutability (*bubian* 不變)." This means that any conceptualization of either one of a pair of opposing opposites is entirely lacking at the origin, because "essence" is by definition unchanging and eternal. It is immutable. The concept of immutability is applied as a way of attempting to offer an adequate though knowingly limited

[537] *Chanyao lu* 1326.
[538] This is often referred to as "Buddha-mind (*foxin* 佛心)."

conceptualization of “true emptiness without perceptual characteristics.” Buddhists do this in the usual way, by hinting at a paradoxical dichotomy. On the one hand, “absence of perceptual characteristics” is the absolute negation of conceptualization. This is expressed by the idea of “true emptiness without perceptual characteristics” not being “thusness” or the” mind of pure nature.” On the other hand, and simultaneously, “true emptiness without perceptual characteristics” is the utter extension, to every thing (*dharma*) and everywhere. This is expressed by the idea of “true emptiness without perceptual characteristics” shining brightly to and in all the ten directions, meaning everywhere.

Zhikong’s Application of the “Three Practices” Paradigm

The theme of the *Chanyao lu* is the description of the “wondrous principle of (neither arising nor) non-arising (*wusheng miaoli* 無生妙理),” which based on “the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts” doctrine. In this section, I discuss Zhikong’s conceptualization of this theme through an explication of each of the aforementioned “three practices” of classical Buddhism; the precepts, meditative contemplation and wisdom. Zhikong’s “neither arising nor non-arising precepts” doctrine has its theoretical foundation in classical Buddhism. I also discuss the utility of this three-part framework, in terms of it being the process of preparing one’s mind in order for one to have the possibility of experiencing the sudden realization of enlightenment.

This process begins with the practice of the precepts of the *vinaya*, through the “function-essence model (*yongti zong* 用體宗).” Essentially, the internalization of the precepts, through the practice of and “meditative contemplation” on them, presents the potential for the development, practice (enactment) and, ultimately, cultivation in everyday life and thought-moment to thought-moment, of wisdom. Therefore, the practice of following the “(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts” functions initially as both a guide to understanding what realization of the truth of emptiness is as well as a” path or process” toward that realization of the truth of emptiness. Thus,

the practice of following or enacting the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" functions as a path toward and model of realization of "essence." The practice is a model of praxis both toward and, upon realization of awakening, of wisdom. Upon realization of the absolute, thus of the "essence," the continued practice of following the precepts, now being the cultivation of realization through continued enactment of the precepts, is an expression of "essence" in the phenomenal, *samsaric* world. This "function-essence model" related to Zhikong's thought that is discussed in the *Chanyao lu* had also long been applied in Buddhism, and had begun to be applied in Neo-Confucianism. The "function-essence model" construction is a fundamental aspect of the sinification of classical Indian Buddhism. Nonetheless, the fundamental conceptualization of Zhikong's thought is based on concepts that are the core of classical Indian Buddhist thought.

Sudden entry into "(neither arising nor) non-arising" is the "great liberation" from the need for a specific method [of practice of] the *Dharma*. The techniques to speaking of the Way to liberate [oneself] are the "three practices:" [namely] precepts, meditative contemplation and wisdom. This is actually [the] foundational thought in the *Prajñāpāramitā* [*sūtra*].

頓入 無生大解脱法 門指要，具說戒定慧三學及依之解脱之道，其思想所基乃在般若.[539]

The practice of following the "neither arising nor non-arising precepts" is directly related to the practice of meditative contemplation on the "three gates of liberation (*jietou sanmen* 解脱三門)."[540] However, while the following of precepts is generally expressed as "*Dharma* (*fa* 法)," or Way, and the fact is that many ways exist, the *Chanyao lu* states that only the following or enactment of "the highest (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts (*zuishang wuxing jie* 最上無生戒)" can be the practice "toward" the realization of "great liberation (*da jietou* 大解脱)."

[A] question was asked: "Is [one] able to [achieve] "sudden and complete realization" [by] cultivating "good dharmas?" [The] Master said: "There is only [the] way [of the] "highest precepts of neither arising nor non-arising"…"

[The] "highest precepts of neither arising nor non-arising" neither go nor come [as these] two ways are both "void and tranquil." [The] locks [to the] illusionary city are opened by oneself.

問日: 修何善法 可得證悟 師云: 惟有最上無生戒法…..

[539] *History of Korean Chan* 1995, 217.

[540] This refers to three forms of meditative or contemplation practice; on "emptiness (*kong* 空)," "markless-ness (*wuxiang* 無相)" and "desireless-ness (*wuzuo* 無作)," or wisdom.

最上無生戒 無去亦無來 二法俱空寂 幻城鎖自開.[541]

This passage discusses what is to be cultivated in order to experience "sudden and complete realization (*zhengwu* 證悟)," or realization awakening. The question asked is if it could be the cultivation of "wholesome *dharmas* (*shanfa* 善法)" that leads to "sudden and complete realization." Zhikong replied that the only way to experience "sudden and complete realization" is to engage in the highest practice of the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." His answer implies that merely cultivating "wholesome *dharmas*" does not lead to the achievement of "sudden and complete realization." This is because any *dharma*, wholesome or not, that is cultivated keeps one (meaning one's mind) in a state of "attachment (craving) (*tan* 貪)" to objects and, thus, in "delusion (ignorance) (*ch*i 癡)" or confusion as to "true emptiness." Any *dharma* is an attachment for a "cognizing (discriminating) mind."

Concerning the phrase, "the highest form of practice of the 'precepts of neither arising nor non-arising' neither goes nor comes," the practice of neither coming nor going means that the practice is fundamentally that of realizing "true emptiness" or "essence." It is the practice of developing and maintaining a state of mind that presents the potential for the experience of realization of awakening to occur. It is ultimately not merely the practice of following any precepts, or any paradigm that has been conceptualized. However, prior to the experience of realization of awakening, the practice of following precepts can be described as a "process" toward realization. Upon this realization, delusion is eradicated and the locks hiding one's "essential (intrinsic) self-nature (*zixing* 自性)" are unlocked. After one experiences realization, the subsequent continued following of precepts is no longer a practice or a process. It is a cultivation of the experience of realization through the continued enactment of the "neither arising nor non-arising precepts."

[541] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

The realization of "great liberation" through the practice of Zhikong's "neither arising nor non-arising precepts" is the overcoming of the attachment to the myriad of conflicting elements of rational thought. Zhikong defined realization or emancipation as an unrestricted state that cannot be experienced merely by the following of precepts. He expressed realization or emancipation as the overcoming of the dichotomy of conflicting pairs of elements.[542] Emancipation is the "casting off (*fangxia* 放下)"[543] of attachments, and the subsequent experiencing of the natural state of "unimpeded freedom (*zizai* 自在)," or liberation, of and from (attachment to) the self as well as from the conflicts of distinction.[544] Emancipation is realization.

The "(Neither Arising Nor) Non-Arising Precepts"

Concerning "absence of perceptual characteristics (or defilements) (*wuxiang* 無相)," or formlessness, in relation to the following of precepts, Zhikong considered the ideal soteriological goal of practice to be following or enacting precepts in such a way so as to make the following of precepts effortless, free of deliberative thought, and intuitive. In effect, the goal was to follow or enact the conventional precepts as "precepts without characteristics (*wuxiang jie* 無相戒)," or as formless precepts. This parallels a key concept that Huinung (慧能) discussed in the *Platform Sutra*. Zhikong and his disciples came to refer to his conceptualization of the ultimate goal of the practice of following precepts as enacting "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts."

Zhikong's emphasized the "*Dharma*-body (*fashen* 法身)" concept in conjunction with his application of the "three practices." This emphasis demonstrates that he did not view the goal of practice or enactment of "precepts without characteristics (*wuxiang jie* 無相戒)" as a process that

[542] These conflicting pairs include cultivation (*xiu* 修) and thoughts (*si* 思), love (*ai* 愛) and hate (*yan* 厭), normal (*fan* 凡) and special (*sheng* 聖), nature (*xing* 性) and marks or characteristics (*xiang* 相), existence (*you* 有) and nonexistence (*wu* 無), body (*shen* 身) and heart (*xin* 心), good (*shan* 善) and evil (*e* 惡), and right (*shi* 是) and wrong (*fei* 非).
[543] This can be interpreted as "being freed by oneself" of all attachments, specifically desire, due to the realization of awakening to the fact that there is no self. So, it is "to cast of (what is) therein (*yuzhong fangsha* 於中放下)."
[544] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

involves stages of development. He viewed the goal of practice as the enactment of precepts as a simultaneity of the "three practices." This means a simultaneity of precepts (which are initially learned, understood and followed through a discriminating mind), of meditative contemplation (that allows internalization of the precepts through the absence of a discriminating mind), and of wisdom (that engenders spontaneous, individualized and creative expression of precepts based on realization of awakening). Heo[545] offers the view that the conjunction of the "three practices" is Zhikong's version of the "essence-function teaching (*tiyong zong* 體用宗)" concept, or his way to relate the fundamental "true essence (*shiti* 實體)" with its "manifest characteristics (*xiang* 相)," or appearances, in the phenomenal world. So, when one follows or enacts the precepts he has initially learned based on a rational and conscious choice of action he makes, he is expressing the precepts as a function of his "intrinsic self-nature" and thus as a function of "original essence."

On the other hand, when one enacts "precepts without characteristics," meaning when one naturally and spontaneously acts in such a way in that one follows the precepts he has already internalized as a consequence of longtime practice, but is doing so while "residing in unimpeded and unmoving awareness (*zizai budong* 自在不動)" and thus not relying only on a "cognizing (discriminating) mind (*shixin* 識心)," then the enactment of the precepts is no longer merely a function of "original essence." The enactment of "precepts without characteristics" while (in the state of) "residing in unimpeded and unmoving awareness" is a manifestation of "original essence" itself. This is possible because enactment of "precepts without characteristics" in the state of "unimpeded and unmoving awareness" implies a "mind of thought-free meditative concentration (*wuxin ding* 無心定)." Essentially, the enactment is thoughtless. "Thought-free meditative concentration" is the absence of the discriminating, conditioned, ego-directed, or goal-oriented thought of a "cognizing (discriminating) mind" in the enactment of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." "Thought-free meditative concentration" is also the absence of recourse to

[545] Heo 1997, 107-108.

rational or discursive thought and conscious choice in the enactment of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." Thus, the enactment of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" is an expression and enactment of wisdom.

The following passage gives another explanation of how the "true reception" of the Buddhist teachings begins with, and ultimately is expressed by, the precepts.

> [A] question was asked: "What is "true reception" [of Buddhist teachings]?"
> [The] Master replied: "It is found in the precepts. [It is] neither delusion nor enlightenment; non-nature nor non-characteristics; and neither existence nor non-existence. Also, [it is] neither body nor mind; nor good or evil. These are what the precepts are."

問曰: 云何是正受持.
師云: 於此戒中 無凡無聖 非性非相 非有非無 亦非身心 亦非善惡 此則是戒.[546]

This passage discusses Zhikong's view of the meaning of the assertion that "true reception (*zheng shouchi* 正受持)" of the teachings of Buddhism is in both the (initial) practice and (subsequent) cultivation of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." This "true reception" is not found merely at either pole of a pair of opposing concepts. It is "neither body nor mind (*yi fei shenxin* 亦非身心)"[547] To Zhikong, "true reception" included reception, learning, accepting, embracing, internalizing, living and enacting, as well as teaching and transmitting, precepts or rules, without the conscious thought or choice of doing so. In this passage, by using the negative to describe what reception of the precepts ultimately is not, Zhikong was asserting that "true reception" is not adequately describable only by negative conceptualizations.

This meaning of this passage, then, suggests an alternative, and affirmative, description of what "true reception" is, and does so by alluding to Zhikong's "one is all (*yiji yiqie* 一卽一切)" worldview conceptualization. By refusing to define the following of precepts in either an affirmative or negative manner, what Zhikong meant is that the final "goal" of practice is that one ultimately should just enact precepts, without recourse to the "cognizing (discriminating) thought"

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[546] *Chanyao lu* 1326.
[547] "Body and mind" here refer to the fruit of the *karmic* merit of previous lives. Body is materiality, and mind is comprised of feeling, perception, habituation, and consciousness. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

that rationalizes why doing this and not that is good or bad. By doing so, one avoids applying the "cognizing (discriminating) thought" as to why one should choose to follow a particular precept. There is no interference of a mere "cognizing (perceiving) mind (*shixin* 識心)" with its consciously discriminating thought or decision-making process. One merely acts, intuitively, correctly and with wisdom. To arrive at this point of "true practice," which in actuality is not the practice of anything but rather the cultivation of (the "True Mind" of) realization, one has passed through and has transcended the process that has "culminated in" the sudden realization of awakening. This process is, sequentially, the conceptualization, then learning, then retention, then internalization of a precept, any precept (or all precepts). The process is then the expression of the precept through action or praxis until the intuitive and correct (for every situation) act is devoid of processing by the "cognizing (perceiving) mind" occurs. This is the realization of awakening itself. What one realizes at that moment of sudden awakening is "true essence," or "essential (innate) self-nature," or "true nature." Whatever it is called, "essence" is non-discriminating, as it does not "move (*dong* 動)," or "act with perception." After this, (the process of) practice becomes the cultivation of the state of realization.

This passage suggests that the process of internalization of even one precept, and the subsequent experience of realization of awakening that may eventually occur through Zhikong's paradigm of practice, can engender the internalization of all precepts. The theory is that having experienced sudden realization while enacting any one precept, one thus realizes the truth of the reality of "essence" or "Buddha-nature" that is (always) inherent in all sentient beings. I discuss this later in this chapter under the heading on interpenetration. According to Zhikong's process, the following of any precept, even though one may not yet have experienced the realization of awakening, offers the possibility of realization to occur.

Zhikong's thought exhibits the tendency toward the concept of "indivisibility of meditative concentration (practice) and (scriptural) teaching (*chanjiao weifen* 禪教未分)." The

"interconnectedness (or embracing) of all things in the universe (*senluo wanxiang* 森羅萬象)" concept supports Zhikong's conjunction of the "*Dharma*-body" concept with the "three practices" concerning the enactment of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." The concept of "interconnectedness of all things" allows the individual who has experienced realization to freely and intuitively express "true essence" in creative ways. As described by the "interconnectedness of all things" and the "original essence" concepts, the individual who has experienced realization and who subsequently enacts any precept while in the state of "quiescent and unmoving awareness" is expressing "original essence."

Zhikong did not discuss or explain a specific method or the process by which one might put one's mind in a state in which the experience of realization might occur, and thus would engender the subsequent (continuing) expression of "original essence." What he did, as a teaching tool, was to often use Buddhist verses, sermons, holy words, and precepts to indicate the point of a particular teaching. He did not use these to indicate static, unambiguous meanings. He emphasized individual freedom and creativity in the personal expression of "original essence" through the "residing in unimpeded and unmoving awareness (*zizai budong* 自在不動)" of one's "intrinsic (essential) self-nature." This awareness is not the same as mere phenomenal perception. However, "residing in unimpeded and unmoving awareness" of one's" intrinsic self-nature" is none other than the awareness of "neither arising nor extinction (*wusheng wumie* 無生無滅)," or of the "mind of pure nature (*xingxin* 性心)," or the "True Mind." This is awareness of the "true essence" of all phenomena which lacks any characteristics of arising or ceasing that is mere phenomenal perception. The individual in "unimpeded and unmoving awareness" of his "intrinsic self-nature" freely and creatively enacts "precepts without characteristics," thus manifesting "original essence." This is none other than "true reception (*zheng shouchi* 正受持)" of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts."

The following passage offers a summation of Zhikong's synthesis of the key concepts in his conceptualization of the "truth of the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts."

Furthermore, Vajrapāni Bodhisattva received [the following from] Mahābodhisattva Mañjuśrī [who said that] those that follow the "precepts of neither arising nor cessation" should have the resolute mind [of faith, in order to] respectfully receive the four refuges according to the Law. What are these four? The first refuge is relying on the formless Buddha. The second refuge is cultivating the way of [neither arising nor] non-arising. The third is refuge is cultivating a *sangha* without strife. The fourth refuge is relying on the "highest [neither arising nor] non-arising precepts."

Good sons! Those who rely on the formless Buddha [as a] refuge rely on taking refuge in [their] intrinsic self-nature as "marvelous enlightenment." [This is] the deep and true [and eternal] constant [of the state of *nirvana*]. [By the] "identity of phenomena with their underlying principle," [all are] formless and devoid of emptiness [and yet] appear mutually linked [as a] pearl [necklace or as one's] reflection in a mirror. Contained in a small part of the ocean is the entire "original essence of the universe." [Original] nature encompasses all states of mind. The marvelous myriad beings [and] essence does not return to any place [but instead] fills the entire "reality-realm."

Furthermore, good sons! [As for] those who rely on taking refuge in "neither arising nor non-arising precepts," the profound doctrine is "perfect harmony" [which is both] expressible [in words] and wordless. All phenomena and all teachings are [found] in the school of mind. The mysterious purpose of the oceanic "perfect and sudden teaching" is wondrous from beginning to end. The wisdom [that is able to extinguish afflictions and bring realization] of perfect enlightenment of the "esoteric practices" [has] many uses [and] no discernable obstacles in the destruction of all *māras* [evil demons].

Furthermore good sons! [As for] those who rely on taking refuge in cultivating a *sangha* without strife rely on taking refuge in "self-nature." The mind extricates all obstacles [to realization with] "mindful awareness" [which] surpasses [mere] "emotive consciousness." [Taking refuge in essential] nature cuts off attachment and discriminating views. Escaping [attachment and views] is [the] universal [goal]. Those who break the "bonds of existence" [are] quiescent [and] "unconditioned," and "cross over" [into] emptiness [for] innumerable eons. [So you should] "enter the *dharma*" of [original] inherent nature, abide in the place of no-dwelling [and] be in "meditative concentration." All those present [can] apply [their inherent] "unlimited understanding."

Furthermore, good sons! [As for] those who rely on taking refuge in "the highest neither arising nor non-arising precepts," [also] rely on taking refuge in "[inherent] self-nature" [and in] quieting the mind and its objects. Everything is non-arising. It is as if all phenomena, [even every] dust mote, is endowed with the lofty power of wisdom, "perfectly penetrating [omnipresent]" [throughout] the entire realm. Those who "manifest the body of the Buddha" most clearly reveal [their innate and real] essential [self-]nature, [conceptually] grasp the four treasures, reveal [in] the perfect mirror [the] universal "limitless body [of the Buddha]," [and] are those that embody the oceanic realm.

Furthermore, Vajrapāni Bodhisattva received [the following from] Mahabodhisattva Mañjuśrī [who said that] those that follow the "precepts of neither arising nor cessation" should have the resolute mind [of faith, in order to] repent and eliminate "three *karmic* sins." Initially [when on] the "pure path," being in delusion [and] lacking the knowable creates limitless "unwholesome activities," [and] bearing all [these] "afflictions" [of the] body. Now, I endeavor to seek repentance, to realize [actualize] the "enlightenment of [all the] Buddhas.

Furthermore, Vajrapāni Bodhisattva received [the following from] Mahabodhisattva Mañjuśrī [who said that] those that follow the "precepts of neither arising nor cessation" should have the resolute mind [of faith, in order to] arise [and] undertake [these] "six great vows."

First, [for] all sentient beings that have not yet accomplished the Way of Buddha, I will not "awaken to true reality."

Second, [for] all of those sentient beings who possess afflictions, I will [accept and] bear them for everyone.

Third, [for] all of those sentient beings who possess obscure ignorance, I will make them all [have] "complete knowledge."

Fourth, [for] all of those sentient beings who possess calamitous afflictions, all will obtain "calm tranquility."

Fifth, [for] all of those sentient beings who possess craving and delusion, [I] will make [them] obtain the "morality, meditation and wisdom."

Sixth, all sentient beings [will] together enter the great vow-ocean [of a *bodhisattva*], [all] accomplishing "true reality" equally and together.

復次金剛手菩薩訶薩 受此文殊師利菩薩摩訶薩 無生戒者 應當志心 敬受四歸依法 何等爲四 一者 歸依佛無形 二者 歸修法無生 三者 歸修僧無諍 四者 歸依最上無生戒.

善男子 歸依佛無形者 歸依自性 如如妙覺 湛湛眞常 卽事卽理 非色非空 綱珠互現 鏡像交參 含容刻海 包括太虛 性一切心 妙萬物體 普復無方 充滿法界.

復次善男子 歸依法無生者 歸依自性 深深義理 落落圓明 有言無言 一切萬法 半滿心宗 圓頓教海 本末妙元 始終奧旨 圓覺密因 般若機用 得無礙辨 破一切魔.

復次善男子 歸依僧無諍者 歸依自性 心心出礙 念念超情 性絶愛見 逃示同類 斷諸有結 寂尒無爲 度空劫海 入法本性 住無所住 得三摩地 現諸色相 運無邊智.

復次善男子 歸依最上無生戒者 歸依自性 寂寂心境 一切不生 魏魏力智 萬法皆如 塵塵具足 剎剎圓通 應諸佛體 顯極明性執四寶珠 現一圓鏡 普無邊身 含諸剎海.

復次金剛手菩薩摩訶薩 受此文殊師利菩薩摩訶薩無生戒者 應當志心 懺除三業罪本來淸淨道 爲迷無所知 造罪無邊量 受此煩惱身 我今求哀懺 早證佛菩提.

復次金剛手菩薩摩訶薩 受此文殊師利菩薩摩訶薩無生戒者 應當志心 擔發六大願

一者 一切衆生 未先成佛道 我不登正覺.

二者 一切衆生 所有諸煩惱 我悉皆代受

三者 一切衆生 所有諸昏愚 悉令得明智

四者 一切衆生 所有諸災難 普令得安隱

五考 一切衆生 所有貪暇癡 令得戒定慧

六者 一切衆生 同入大願海 俱成等正覺.[548]

This passage discusses that those "good sons," referring to lay Buddhists, who want to follow "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts," begin with a "resolute mind (of faith) (*zhixin* 志心)" with which to be able to "respectfully receive (*jingshou* 敬受)"[549] the "four refuges (*sigui* 四歸)." The passage first explains how to enact these refuges, and then presents six vows that one

[548] *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* 1353.

[549] This refers to the concept of taking refuge in or relying on the *Dharma* as one's "ground (of authority) (*yifa* 依法)" on which to carry out the practice.

should take and promise to keep that will connect (the accrued *karmic* merit of) their personal practice of the "highest (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" to all other sentient beings. Vajrapāni Bodhisattva (Jingang shou Pusa 金剛手菩薩) in the case of Zhikong's thought specifically refers to Samantabhadra (Puxian 普賢), the *bodhisattva* of practice and meditation, and guardian of the law.[550] Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva (Wenshu shili Pusa 文殊師利菩薩) is the idealization of wisdom and realization.[551]

The first reliance is on the "formless (non-arising) Buddha (*wusheng fo* 無形佛)" within oneself. This means that one should take refuge in, or have faith in the truth that one's own "essential (intrinsic) self-nature (*zixing* 自性)" is the as-yet-unrealized "marvelous enlightenment (*miaojue* 妙覺)"[552] that is constant and unchanging. Having faith in the "identity of (all) phenomena with the underlying principle (*jishi jili* 卽事卽理)" allows one to engage in a soteriological paradigm of practice through which one could become aware that all phenomena are identical with "true reality," namely "true nature" or "principle." Thus, should one choose to engage in such practice, one would be raising the potential to, at some point, experience sudden realization and become aware that the true reality of phenomena is identical with principle. Principle is "formless (*wusheng* 無形)," meaning it is not composed of the aforementioned "four elements" and yet is simultaneously devoid of emptiness. "True reality," and "phenomena and principle (*shili* 事理)" are as linked as the pearls on a necklace or as one is to one's reflection in a mirror, an allusion to classic Buddhist metaphors. Another metaphor, the connecting of the wave in the ocean to the entire ocean of the "original essence of the universe (*taixu* 太虛)," is a direct reference to the classic Huayan school metaphor of associating phenomenon and phenomena with

[550] In the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, Samantabhadra made ten great vows which are regarded as the basic vows of a *bodhisattva*. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[551] As guardian of wisdom, the image of Mañjuśrī is often placed in the temple hall to the left of Śākyamuni, with Samantabhadra to the right.
[552] This is the incomprehensibly subtle level of enlightenment realized by the Buddha, which allows the Buddha to enlighten others. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

principle. One is to take as a refuge and thus rely on, with a "resolute mind (of faith)," the fact that not only oneself and every other sentient being but also every phenomenon inherently has, as "original essence," the innate "Buddha-nature" or the "formless (non-arising) Buddha" or "true nature" or "principle."

"Original essence," as well as all these other referents, encompasses all states of mind and, just as the "essence" of all the myriad sentient beings does not return to any place, is limitless and without impediment. "Original essence" encompasses the entire "reality-realm (*fajie* 法界)" or *dharma-dhātu* (world of *dharmas*), the entire universe taken as phenomena, as well as all states of mind, including the (pre-realization) conditioned and (post-realization) unconditioned states of mind. However, only the (post-realization), awakened, and unconditioned state of mind is the state that reveals "original essence."

According to the passage, the second reliance is on having faith in the way of "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" to acquire wisdom. The first reliance and the second reliance are found in all major schools of Buddhism that were active in East Asia up to and during the time of Zhikong. These schools include the Huayan school of "perfect harmony (*yuanming* 圓明)" of mutual interrelation, the Chan school of "mind," the Tiantai school of "perfect and sudden teaching (*yuandun jiao* 圓頓教)."[553] Even the school of "esoteric practices (*miyin* 密因)" contains practices that eliminate the affliction of attachments in the acquisition of wisdom.

The third reliance is on taking refuge in relating to other sentient beings and cultivating "compassion (*cibei* 慈悲)" through the cultivation of a *sangha* without strife, by having faith in the "intrinsic self-nature" of all sentient beings. By eliminating the "clinging (*tanlian* 貪戀)"[554] to attachments of perception through the practice of "mindful awareness (*nian* 念)," one is able to stop and thus transcend attachment to the "emotive (or discriminating) consciousness (*qing* 情)"

[553] This is a reference to the Tiantai school.
[554] This clinging (*tanlian* 貪戀) to attachments, or phenomenal objects and discriminating thought, is related and due to "craving (*tanai* 貪愛)," or covetousness or desiring.

of the "cognizing (perceiving) mind." Instead, having faith in the truth of "essential nature (*xing* 性)" "eliminates "emotional attachment (or desire) and (discriminating) views (*jue aijian* 絶愛見)."[555] One who is able to cut through, or eliminate, the "bonds of existence (*youjie* 有結)," or attachment to (things, or *dharmas*, or phenomena) in this *samsaric* or phenomenal world, through the experience of realization of awakening, becomes "quiescent (*jiran* 寂然)." What one realizes is the wisdom of the "unconditioned (*wuwei* 無爲),"[556] or absolutely eternal "true reality," or "original essence." The experience of realization is the "crossing over (*du* 度)" from this shore of the *samsaric*, or phenomenal, or conventional, or provisional world to the "other" shore of *nirvanic* or liberatory "true emptiness." Another way of referring to realization is "entering the *dharma* (*rufa* 入法)"[557] and "abiding in the place of no-dwelling (*zhu wusuo zhu* 住無所住)." Subsequent to the experience of realization, and thus in the post-realization "state," one is actively aware yet not clinging (attached) to an object or (the act of) perception, which is what a mere "cognizing (discriminating) mind" does. Thus, one who has experienced realization is continuously in the "state" of "right meditative concentration (*sanmodi* 三摩地, *sanmei* 三昧, *zhengding* 正定, *samādhi*)." All of these referents suggest the "unlimited (and unimpeded) understanding (*wuai zhi* 無邊智)" of the enactment of taking refuge in, of having faith in, the "essential (intrinsic) self-nature" of "original essence." This is wisdom.

The fourth reliance is on taking refuge in the "highest (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" as well as "intrinsic self-nature." That everything is non-arising means that no thing, or phenomenon, or *dharma* arises into existence of itself. So, no thing exists apart from, or is independent of, any other as well as all other things. There are various ways that this is expressed.

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[555] The first logograph refers to "emotive afflictions (*sihuo* 思惑)" and the second refers to "cognitive afflictions (*jianhuo* 見惑). Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

[556] The "unconditioned" refers to that which is not arisen on the basis of causes and conditions, and thus not subject to the law of cause and effect. Thus, it is a referent to "original essence." Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

[557] Prior to the experience of realization, "entering the *Dharma*" refers to entering the *sangha*, in order to engage in Buddhist practice toward the realization of enlightenment.

All phenomena existing in the *samsaric* world are "perfectly penetrating (*yuantong* 圓通)." This means that each *dharma*, or phenomenon, "perfectly interpenetrates" every other phenomenon, thus all other phenomena, as well as the entire universe, or "reality-realm," and this occurs simultaneously. Each and every phenomenon is connected to all other phenomena. Those who "manifest the body of the Buddha (*ying yingfo* 應佛體)," [558] meaning those who have experienced realization of enlightenment, reveal the wisdom of "limitless body (essence) of the Buddha (*wubian shen* 無邊身)" to all others. Just as "all phenomena, [even every] dust mote, are endowed with the lofty power of wisdom, "perfectly penetrating" [throughout] the entire realm," so is each and every precept, as a phenomenon or *dharma*, endowed with wisdom, and so does each and every precept "perfectly penetrate" all phenomena, including all other precepts. The implication of this portion of this passage is clear. One takes refuge in, and has a "resolute mind (of faith) (*zhixin* 志心)" in, one's "intrinsic (inherent) self-nature" to follow and enact the "highest (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" that are "perfectly penetrating." With this mindset, one sets himself within Zhikong's soteriological paradigm of practice that offers the "cognizing (discriminating) mind" the potential to suddenly experience the realization of awakening.

Acquiring the "resolute mind (of faith)" in "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" requires the elimination of the "three karmic sins (*san yezui* 三業罪)." [559] Elimination of these can be achieved through repentance. When on initially sets himself on the "pure path (*qingjing dao* 清淨道)," one is in the state of delusion due to reliance on the "cognizing (discriminating) mind." Therefore, one lacks knowledge of the way out of delusion, or the realization of awakening. This delusion and wrongful reliance lead one to commit a limitless number of "unwholesome activities

[558] The "body of the Buddha" refers to the realization of the stage or state of Buddhahood, or enlightenment, or awakening. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[559] The three karmic sins, based on the three modes of activities, are the "sins of word (*kouye* 口業)," "thought (*yiyue* 意業)," and "deed (*shenye* 身業)." Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

(*zui* 罪)," each of which contributes to the accruement of "evil afflictions (*fannao* 煩惱)," or defilements or *karmic* impressions, which, in turn, accrue the *karmic* merit that keeps one trapped in "the cyclic existence of transmigration (*shengsi* 生死)," or *samsāra* or the conventional and phenomenal world of existence. By seeking repentance for these "three karmic sins" through the practice of following "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts," one raises the potential to subsequently experience the sudden realization of the same "enlightenment of [all the] Buddhas (*fo puti* 佛菩提)." One's realization of this is the realization that all other sentient beings also have the potential for awakening or enlightenment. And, upon the experience of realization, the *bodhisattva* therefore remains in *samsāra* until all sentient beings are ready to "cross over (to the other shore of liberation) (*du* 度)" together.

As a process to prepare one's "cognizing (discriminating) mind" to have this experience of realization, one who follows "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" should arise the "resolute mind of faith" and undertake the "six great vows (*liu dayuan* 六大願)" of a *bodhisattva*, in order to save (himself and) all sentient beings. These vows symbolize the "interconnectedness (embracing) of all things in the universe (*senluo wanxiang* 森羅萬象)." The vows constitute the *bodhisattva* mindset with which to enact "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts."

The first vow is to not "awaken to true reality (*deng zhengjue* 登正覺),"meaning not to "leave" *samsāra*, until all other sentient beings are ready to do so together. The second vow is to bear the "afflictions (*fannao* 煩惱)," or *karmic* merit, of all sentient beings. The third vow is to aid all sentient beings who are ignorant of the "true emptiness" of "residing in unimpeded and unmoving awareness" to acquire "complete knowledge (*mingzhi* 明智)" of "true essence (*shiti* 實體)." The fourth vow is to aid all sentient beings who continue to be trapped in *samsaric* existence of transmigration (*shengsi* 生死), or the cyclical experience of birth and life and death, to obtain "calm tranquility (*anyin* 安隱)." The fifth vow is to guide all sentient beings in the enactment of

the soteriological paradigm of the "three practices (*sanxue* 三學);" namely morality, meditation, and wisdom. The sixth vow is to simultaneously "accomplish true awakening (*cheng zhengjue* 成正覺)" equally along with all other sentient beings.

Meditative Contemplation

The second of the "three practices" in Zhikong's paradigm of practice of following and enacting "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" is the practice of "meditative concentration (*ding* 定)." The passage below asserts that the focus of "meditative concentration" is the internalization of precepts by "residing in unimpeded and unmoving awareness."

> [A] question was asked: "Can not yet having direction [concerning practice] be considered true [practice of] meditative contemplation?"
> [The] Master replied: "Meditative contemplation is neither non-separation nor separation, neither cultivation nor realization, neither silence nor speech, motionless but not still, and is not sitting meditation. It is not [the act of] avoiding material objects and it is also neither the "three kinds of *dharma*" nor abiding. In the "three periods" there is "no discriminating mind." [So] realization [can occur] in "one thought-moment.""

問曰: 如此非定向 那裏求其實定. 師云: 定是不卽不離 無修無證 無默無言 不動不靜 不宴坐 不避塵 又不三法不住 三際無心 可證一念.[560]

This passage explains the nature of "meditative contemplation" as a practice in Zhikong's soteriological paradigm. It does so by negation, by discussing what "meditative contemplation" is not. By doing so, the passage suggests that it is also neither concept in each pair of opposites. This emphasizes the position that "meditative contemplation" cannot be easily or simply defined, or defined at all, even by what appear to be obvious definitions. The most striking examples are that "meditative contemplation" is neither simply doing "sitting meditation (*yanzuo* 宴坐)" nor simply "fleeing the material objects (*bichen* 避塵)" of the *samsaric* world. The implication is that these two are characteristics of the activity of a "cognizing (discriminating) mind," and are not truly representative of the "mind of pure nature" or the "Buddha-mind." Zhikong asserted that

[560] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

"meditative contemplation" is also not merely the "three aspects of *Dharma* (*sanfa* 三法),"[561] which are "teaching (*jiao* 教)," "practice (*xing* 行)," and "realization (*zheng* 證)." He also asserted that it is also not merely "abiding (*zhu* 住)," which in this particular context refers to both staying in the state of contemplation and existing continuously in *samsāra*. The ever-spontaneous and natural "non-discriminating mind (*wuxin* 無心)" exists in the "three periods (*sanji* 三際),"[562] which means that it has always existed. Also, this mind can be revealed via the experience of realization at and in any "one thought-moment (*yinian* 一念)," meaning that realization can occur suddenly at any moment, when one is properly prepared. Thus, "meditative contemplation" is not simply the activity of a "cognizing (discriminating) mind" concentrating on an object. "Meditative concentration" is, instead, the activity of the "essential (intrinsic) self-nature" of one's "non-discriminating mind" that has the potential for the "realization of enlightenment" to "self nature" at and in any "one thought-moment" to occur. In addition, "right (or true) meditative contemplation (*zhengding* 正定)" is an individual's expression of "essence."

The following passage describes the erroneous view of associating "right meditative contemplation" with the negation of *karmic* merit.

> [A] question was asked: "When one has entered into right meditative contemplation, are [the merits and demerits of] evil and good *karma* negated?"
> [The] Master replied: "There are no [merits and demerits of] evil and good *karma* if there is evil and good *karma*. [This] is not right meditative contemplation."
>
> 問曰: 既入正定中 有罪福否.　師云: 亦無罪福 若有罪 非正定也.[563]

This passage discusses "entering right meditative concentration (*ru zhengding* 入正定)." In this exchange, Zhikong implied that "good and evil *karma* (*zuifu* 罪福)," or the resultant effects of punishment and reward from one's consciously chosen and performed actions, ultimately do

[561] The "three aspects of *dharma*" do not refer to the "three types of *dharma*," which are "true *dharma* (*zhenfa* 眞法)," "semblance *dharma* (*jiafa* 假法)," and "degenerated *dharma* (*mofa* 末法)." Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[562] The "three periods" refers to the past, present and future.
[563] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

not exist as the absolute root, or "true nature," of "essence" or "essential self-nature." Types of *karma* only appear to exist in the phenomenal, *samsaric* world of perception of the "cognizing (discriminating) mind." *Karma* and its effects do not exist the post-realization, *nirvanic* state of awareness. The perceptions of the existence of evil and good *karma* are provisional conceptualizations in the "cognizing (discriminating) minds" of those who have yet to experience realization. As for those who have experienced realization, every thing is ascertained as what it is; as "essence."

> [A] question was asked: "[Could you] explain how one is able to obtain [the states of] 'functioning freely without constraint" and "liberation.'"
> [The] Master replied: "[It is] not thinking about [what is] right or wrong, nor thinking about [what is] good or evil. [It is] also not thinking about truth or deluded conceptualizations. [It] is found in letting go. This is called 'great liberation.' [When one] achieves [the state of] 'functioning freely,' it is not created by the self but [is realized] by engaging in 'analytical meditation.' This is 'liberation.'" [Zhikong then] spoke a poetic verse: "The highest 'neither arising nor non-arising precepts' neither go nor stay. Dichotomies are all void and tranquil. The illusory locks to the city of the self open."

問曰: 云何處 自在之法 而得解脫.
師云: 以不思是非 不念善惡 亦不思眞 亦不妄想 於中放下 此則 名得大自在既得自在 又不作自在觀者 此 則解脫 而說偈曰: 最上無生戒 無去亦無來 二法俱空寂 幻城鎖自 開.[564]

In this passage, the states of "functioning freely without constraints (*zizai* 自在)"[565] and "being liberated (from suffering) (*jietou* 解脫)" suggest that, subsequent to the realization of enlightenment, one is freed from the constraints of the "cognizing (discriminating) mind" and the limiting perceptions of the ego-mind that perceives the self as the locus of "true reality." After realization, one no longer continues to rely on conceptualizing. One stops relying on "acting (merely) with perception (*dong* 動)" in the phenomenal world. Instead, one engages in "mindfulness (*nian* 念)." This means that one "resides in unimpeded and unmoving awareness," as well as in "essential self-nature" or "essence," while still of and engaging in the world.

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[564] *Chanyao lu* 1326.
[565] "Functioning freely without constraints" is also be referred to as the "freedom (of the self)," or "sovereignty (of the self)" or the "functioning freely (of the self) without constraint." Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

One discerns the truth of the reality of "essence." Freedom, or "liberation," is realized through "analytical meditation insight (*guan* 觀)," or the meditative investigation and analysis of the "reality of true nature" of all things. Wisdom is also realized through the praxis one engages in through "analytical meditation insight." Upon the experience of realization, one is liberated from the limiting dichotomies of a "cognizing (discriminating) mind." Thus, the limited ego-self is liberated from its psychological clinging to the *samsaric* and phenomenal world of suffering and "transmigration." One becomes "empty and quiescent (*kongji* 空寂)."

> [A] question was asked: "How can one establish true abandonment?"
> [The] Master replied: "When one desires to abandon [delusions], one can not be aware of [the act of] abandonment nor [the act of] establishment [of karmic merit], nor be aware of the internal or aware of the external [conditions]. To be able to do these is to directly apprehend the true wisdom of all the Buddhas."
> [Zhikong] then spoke a verse: "The Buddha's subtle wisdom is originally not knowing, uninterrupted not knowing, and the absence of not knowing."
>
> 問曰: 云何能作眞斷. 師云: 若欲斷時 不可知斷 不可知作 不可知內 不可知外 若能如此 卽得諸佛 眞智慧也. 而頌之曰: 如來妙慧本無知 無斷無知無不知.[566]

This passage is about how "true abandonment (*zhenduan* 眞斷)" of the delusions of the "cognizing (discriminating) mind" in the *samsaric*, phenomenal world is the "direct apprehension (*jide* 卽得)" of the "true wisdom of the Buddha (*fozhen zhihui* 佛眞智慧)." "True abandonment" is not mere perception by the "cognizing (discriminating) mind." In addition, "true wisdom (*zhen zhihui* 眞智慧)" is "directly apprehending" as well as "residing in unimpeded and unmoving awareness." The main implication is that "directly apprehending" the "true wisdom of the Buddha" is not an activity one chooses to do actively. It is not a thing or object to be desired, thus it can not be sought after, as desiring and seeking are the acts of a "cognizing (discriminating) mind." Rather, "true abandonment" and "direct apprehension" are states of residing or abiding that occur through practice. Another implication of this passage is that the realization of enlightenment, and thus the attainment of "the Buddha's subtle wisdom (*rulai miaohui* 如來妙慧)" through "true

[566] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

abandonment," has the possibility of occurring through a process of practice. As already discussed, practice prior to the experience of realization is a process of not only the abandonment of (clinging to) desires, to be without desire, but is also a process toward the dropping of the "cognizing (discriminating) mind's" perception of one's engagement in this process. Perceiving one's engagement is an act of "clinging" of the "cognizing (discriminating) mind." This process of the dropping of the ego-mind's perception involves, or better yet has the "end result" of, completely internalizing the practice of "meditative contemplation." The successful abandonment and dropping of the mind's clinging to all phenomena or *dharmas* is the realization of awakening.

Therefore, Zhikong's thought expresses the concept of the "indivisibility of meditative concentration (practice) and (scriptural) teaching." It does this through the soteriological goal of engaging in the "three practices," which emphasize the following of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." The process of this praxis is to completely internalize the precepts as well as the practices and, ultimately, drop "cognizing (discriminating) mind's" attachment to them and the process. Through this pre-realization process of internalization, "meditative concentration" becomes "right meditative concentration." In "right meditative concentration," a "non-discriminating mind," in the "one thought-moment (*yinian* 一念)" of the realization of enlightenment, suddenly comes to "reside in unimpeded and unmoving awareness" and be "directly apprehending" the "true wisdom of the Buddha," or "essence." This is how one "establishes true abandonment" of the "three practices" and precepts in order to directly apprehend the "true wisdom of all the Buddhas."

For Zhikong, the key component, of (the initial entry into the process of) practice toward and for the experience of the realization of awakening and the development of wisdom, was the following of rules or "precepts (*jie* 戒)." "Wisdom (*zhihui* 智慧)" occurs and develops only subsequent upon the internalization of (the following of) precepts along with the practice of "meditative concentration," in terms of "teaching and learning (*jiaoxue* 教學)." Wisdom is based

on realization. Wisdom originates in “non-knowing (*wuzhi* 無知),” or the absence of the clinging to phenomena of the “cognizing (discriminating) mind.” Therefore, wisdom is not expressed, rather it is excluded, whenever one used the ““cognizing (discriminating) mind” to erroneously attempt to understand, hear, or explain wisdom. Zhikong distinguished “subtle wisdom (*miaohui* 妙慧)” and “true wisdom (*zhen zhihui* 眞智慧)” from mere “knowledge (*hui* 知),” “not knowing (*buzhi* 不知),” and the act of conceptualizing.

Wisdom

Wisdom originates in “non-knowing (*wuzhi* 無知),” or the absence of the limited awareness that is based merely on perception of and in the phenomenal world. The ultimate goal of practice within Zhikong’s soteriological paradigm of the “three practices” is parallel to Jinul’s “simultaneous (practice-as-)cultivation of meditative concentration and wisdom (*dinghui shuangxiu* 定慧雙修).” Zhikong’s paradigm begins with the process of following or enacting precepts as “the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts.” The “goal” is to realize the “mindset” of “residing in unimpeded and unmoving awareness.” The experience of residing is the point at which practice of precepts becomes cultivation of “simultaneous (practice-as-)cultivation of meditative concentration and wisdom” Contingent upon the experience of sudden realization of the “simultaneous (practice-as-)cultivation of meditative concentration and wisdom,” thus when one comes to be in the state of “non-knowing,” which is awareness that is not based merely on perception of and in the phenomenal world, one cultivates the enactment of “the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts.” Enactment in this state is that of “true abandonment (*zhenduan* 眞斷)” by an ever-spontaneous and natural “non-discriminating mind (*wuxin* 無心).” This means that the precepts are no longer merely practiced or limited or determined by a “cognizing (discriminating) mind.” This state is that of awareness of the “true emptiness” of “essence” or “Buddha-nature.”

Therefore, in Zhikong's paradigm as expressed by his disciples in the *Chanyao lu*, the concept of "practice" implies the pre-realization following of the precepts by a "cognizing (discriminating) mind." In contrast, the concept of "cultivation" is the post-realization enactment of the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" by an "empty and quiescent" "Buddha-mind" that "resides in unimpeded and unmoving awareness." In addition, the concept of "perception (*xiang* 想)" implies the pre-realization act of the "cognizing (discriminating) mind" as it wrongly (or ignorantly) "attaches to (*tan* 貪)" the "manifest characteristics (*xiang* 相)" of the "created or conditioned defilements (*youwei fannao* 有爲煩惱)," namely *dharmas* or phenomena or objects, in the phenomenal, *samsaric* world. On the other hand, the concept of "awareness," as in "residing in unimpeded and unmoving awareness (*zizai budong* 自在不動)," is the post-realization "state" of a "mind of pure nature (*xingxin* 性心)" which is "empty (*kong* 空)," "markless (*wuxiang* 無相)," and "desireless (*wuzuo* 無作)."

The soteriological paradigm of praxis structured on the "three practices" and based in the following of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" begins with taking refuge in, or having faith in, the reality of the "true wisdom of the Buddha (*fozhen zhihui* 佛眞智慧)." Zhikong's paradigm of practice is threefold. It begins with the intention toward the realization of wisdom, it is a progressive task toward the acquisition of understanding that is a necessary precursor to wisdom, and culminates in the realization of wisdom.

> [A] question was asked: "How can the wisdom of the true doctrine be made manifest?"
> [The Master] replied: "Wisdom can be made manifest by non-knowing."
>
> 問曰: 從正宗云何發慧.　　師云: 慧以無知可發.[567]

In this exchange, the wisdom of the "true (correct) doctrine (*zheng zong* 正宗)" is realized when one is (in the state of) "non-knowing (*wu zhi* 無知)." In this context, Zhikong suggested that "non-knowing" is the absence of (one's reliance on) distinguishing and perceiving by a

[567] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

"cognizing (discriminating) mind," as cognizing implies distinguishing things from each other and perceiving them in their differences as representative of reality. "Non-knowing" refers to "true wisdom," which is unchanging and independent of differentiation. However, "non-knowing" is not lack of awareness. Rather, it is "residing in unimpeded and unmoving awareness." The "non-knowing" of wisdom is "direct apprehension (*jide* 卽得)" of the "true wisdom of the Buddha."

[The] Master said: "For those that desire to manifest wisdom, wisdom of the past cannot be [mere] knowledge, wisdom of the present [existence] cannot be [mere] knowledge, [and] wisdom of the upcoming future cannot be [mere] knowledge. [It is] just as all the subtle wisdoms certainly cannot be [mere] knowledge. Those that [are able to] totally annihilate the various myriad types of wisdom like these obtain the true wisdom of the Buddha."
[A] question was asked: "How can [one] abandon all [types of] wisdom?"
[The] Master replied: "Those who have abandoned all [the types of] wisdom can not speak [about it]. There is one true wisdom. I have already been able to abandon [it], but I also cannot speak of it. At its root, wisdom is not divided, and I have exhausted all the distinctions [of true wisdom]."

師云: 欲發慧者 過去慧不可知 現在慧不可知 未來慧不可知 如是一切妙慧實不可知 諸般衆慧 如斯斷者 則得諸佛眞智慧也. 問曰: 云何當斷諸慧. 師云: 斷諸慧者 不可言 實有一慧 我已能斷 亦不可言 本無一慧 我皆盡斷.[568]

In this passage, Zhikong distinguished between "wisdom (*hui* 慧)," or discernment of and insight into "essence" or "true nature," and the mistaken conceptualizations of wisdom that are really only forms of "knowledge (*zhi* 智)," or (mere) cognitive awareness of the concrete or the phenomenal. The passages also discusses how wisdom is "made manifest (*fa* 發)" in a variety of forms. The understanding that is gained through the acquisition of knowledge that comes from knowing something cognitively through a "cognizing (discriminating) mind" is not the "true wisdom (*shiihui* 實慧)" that is the realization of enlightenment, or the discernment of or insight into reality. Any conceptualization of the myriad types of so-called wisdoms are in fact merely forms of knowledge, and these forms of knowledge situate these so-called wisdoms at the level of merely understanding things in the phenomenal world. These are not the "true wisdom of the

[568] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

Buddha (*fozhen zhihui* 佛眞智慧).” Thus, Zhikong asserted that “true wisdom” was not definable. The “one true wisdom (*shi yihui* 實一慧)” can not be spoken of, meaning that it is not able to be fully comprehended, explained or understood at the level of the “cognizing (discriminating) mind.” Every thing is ultimately impermanent, and realization includes “abandonment (*duan jian* 斷見)” of any vestige of conceptualization of the so-called wisdoms. Realization includes the severing of attachment to all delusions, afflictions, things (*dharmas*), phenomena, and conceptualizations that one perceives as reality. Just as ““meditative concentration (practice) and (scriptural) teaching are indivisible,” “true wisdom” is “indivisible (*weifen* 未分).”

In the following passage below, Zhikong discussed knowledge and the various types of perceived, so-called wisdoms, none of which is the “one true wisdom.”

> [The] Master said [of intelligence]: “For those that know and present knowledge, it is called foolish wisdom. For those that display and show knowledge, it is called evil wisdom. For those that see and present knowledge, it is confused wisdom. For those that present and explain knowledge, it is called the conditioned wisdom of the [mundane] world.”
>
> 師云: 若以知而發者 則名愚慧 若以開以發者 則名邪慧 若以見而發者 則名迷慧 若以說而發者 則名世間橫慧也.[569]

As the “one true wisdom” is “indivisible,” it cannot be merely any one of the mistaken conceptualizations of wisdom mentioned in this passage. However, the passage implies that “true wisdom” may be realized through a process that includes clearly observing and understanding each type of so-called wisdoms until one, through the experience of realization, sees the limitation that each type is merely a conceptualization that is not true reality. However, “true wisdom,” unlike mere knowledge and any conceptualized version of the conditioned wisdom of the (mundane and phenomenal) world that is a misrepresentation of the “one true wisdom,” cannot be deconstructed or concretized or conceptualized or spoken of.

In the next passage, Zhikong continued to discuss the mistaken conceptualizations of wisdom.

> [The] Master said: “Those who have cut through all [types of] wisdom cannot talk about it. There is only one true wisdom, and I have been able to determine [cut] it but it cannot be spoken

[569] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

of. In its essence, there is not one type of wisdom. I have thoroughly exhausted all possible determinations [of it]."

師云: 斷諸慧者 不可言 實有一慧 我已能斷 亦不可言 本無一慧 我盖盡斷.[570]

In this passage, Zhikong stated that he had exhausted all attempts at rational conceptualizations of wisdom, and determined that the "one true wisdom" can not be broken down to merely this or merely that. The "one true wisdom" is ineffable. It is "unconditioned (*wuwei* 無爲)" wisdom. Zhikong goes on to discuss a common type of (limited) conceptualization of wisdom; namely "conditioned, or phenomenal (*youwei* 有爲)" wisdom.[571] This is the set that contains all the types of mistaken conceptualizations of "phenomenal" wisdoms mentioned in the passage immediately prior to this one. When all possible determinations of the mistaken conceptualizations of wisdom are exhausted, the set named "conditioned, or phenomenal" wisdom, with all its mistaken conceptualizations, ceases to cloud one's awareness.

In the *Chanyao lu*, Zhikong often used this following verse to emphasize the "unknowable (*wuzhi* 無知)"quality of wisdom.

The wondrous wisdom of Buddha is originally not known. It does not affirm, is unknowable and not known. [It is the] empty void embracing together with rivers. Wondrous wisdom is a singular essence like this.

如來妙慧本無知 無斷無知不知 虛空包納河相 妙智如斯一體施.[572]

This passage discusses how "wondrous wisdom (*miaohui* 妙慧)" is "one singular essence (*yiti shi* 一體施)." It is simultaneously "indivisible (*weifen* 未分)" and the "empty void (*xukong* 虛空)" that embraces. "Wondrous wisdom" is not merely any one of the conventional conceptualizations of so-called wisdoms. Rather, it embraces them all as limited traces or indicators of what it is. Also, even if one has experienced realization, "wondrous wisdom" cannot be fully cognized or explained. "Wondrous wisdom" is originally unknowable and does not affirm what it is through

[570] *Chanyao lu* 1326..
[571] "Conditioned or phenomenal" wisdom contrasts with "unconditioned (*wuwei* 無爲)" wisdom, in that the latter neither results from nor is subject to the laws of *karma*. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[572] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

any limited conceptualization. Zhikong implied that manifest characteristics of wisdom include individual expressions, a variety of superficial manifestations, and ineffability. Yet, simultaneously, it is immutable.

This passage suggests a paradox that one should begin to try to come to grips with, at least at the limited level of understanding, concerning wisdom, right from the outset of the implementation of the "three practices" paradigm. This paradox relates to the aforementioned concept of "indivisibility (*weifen* 未分)." The practice of following the precepts is initially undertaken with the understanding that the ultimate goal is not merely to follow them to the letter all the time, as external loci of morality. Rather, the goal is to internalize them so that the following of them becomes enacting them with a "non-discriminating mind (*wuxin* 無心)" in "mindful awareness (*nian* 念)" and "without (self-directed) thought (*wunian* 無念);" that is, with "emptiness thought (*kong sixiang* 空思想)." Thus, the "goal" is to enact "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" with "emptiness thought." To do so, one should, from the beginning of the implementation of the "three practices" paradigm, have as the "goal" the internalization of all the so-called forms of wisdom via "emptiness thought," as the "one true wisdom" originates in "non-knowing," or the absence of clinging to mere perception. This "mindset" with which to implement the "three practices" paradigm offers the potential for the realization of enlightenment to occur. All these should be enacted as an "indivisible simultaneity."

In the following and concluding verse I discuss on wisdom, Zhikong contrasted wisdom being unchangeable and immutable with wisdom having unlimited functions or uses. The functions of wisdom spread everywhere.

Wisdom has unhindered and wondrous uses, like a cloud moving throughout the empty sky. [It is] spread throughout all the innumerable Buddha-worlds in all directions.

般若無碍妙用 如雲往返虛空 收布大千界 偏覆南北西東.[573]

[573] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

In this passage, Zhikong suggested that wisdom functions in every place imaginable in the phenomenal, *samsaric* world, and thus is transcendent of space. It is immutable. Wisdom is much more than the mere expansion of knowledge. The implication is that realizing wisdom is infinitely more important than merely acquiring knowledge.

Zhikong's Worldview – "Interpenetration"

Zhikong's worldview in the *Chanyao lu* is expressed by the Huayan school's concept of "interpenetration (*yiqie jiyi* 一切卽一)."[574] This means that all things in existence, or all phenomena, or *dharmas*, are contained in, or interpenetrate, all other phenomena, and they do so without obstructing one another. Thus, each phenomenon is itself only, meaning it does not obstruct the provisional or *samsaric* expression any other phenomena, and yet, simultaneously, each phenomenon is also interconnected with all other phenomena. Essentially, every phenomenon is interrelated with, or "enters," all other phenomena. This is the Huayan interpretation of "co-dependent arising (*yuanqi* 緣起)," which means that no phenomenon has its own distinct "essential self-nature" that separates it from any phenomenon or all other phenomena. Put another way, all phenomena arise, or come into provisional, conditional existence, co-dependently, with and through "essence." Concerning the concept of "non-obstruction (*wuai* 無礙)," each and every phenomenon at it's "essence" permeates all other phenomena, just as, as the well-known Huayan metaphor goes, the light of a candle extends everywhere and permeates an entire room. The candle flame is associated with "essence" or "principle (*li* 理)," and the light is all "phenomena (*shi* 事)," or *dharmas*, in the conventional, *samsaric* world. The flame and the light interpenetrate each other, meaning that no part of either exists without the other, and they do so without obstructing each other and the other's function.

[574] A key aspect of the Huayan school is "interpenetration and non-obstruction (*rongtong wiau* 融通無礙)." "Mutual entering (of marks or characteristics with each other) (*xiangji xiangru* 相卽相入)" is the Huayan interpretation of the co-dependent arising of all phenomena. In this sense, interpenetration of all phenomena with each other is the nature of existence of every thing and all things in the phenomenal world.

Thus, they only appear to the as-yet unrealized "cognizing (discriminating) mind" to be separate and distinct entities.

There are other conceptualizations that are associated with the concept of interpenetration and that Zhikong applied in his thought. The "one is all (*yiji yiqie* 一卽一切)" conceptualization means that each phenomenon and all phenomena are identified simultaneously without hindrance. The "one is many (*yiji duo* 一卽多)" conceptualization means that each phenomenon and all phenomena are the same, in "essence," without obstruction. As Zhikong's thought exhibits the concept of "indivisibility of meditation practice and (scriptural) teaching," which is emphasized by the enactment of the "three practices" through his key representative conceptualization of "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts," the concept of "interpenetration and non-obstruction" and its associated conceptualizations fit right into Zhikong's worldview. "Interpenetration" also fits in with Zhikong's acceptance of the idea of the relativity of phenomena in the *samsaric*, phenomenal world. Relativity is represented by Zhikong's assertion that paradoxical dualities such as "essential nature and characteristics, being and non-being (*xingxiang youwu* 性相有無)" can be overcome, through practice, by "emptiness thought (*kong sixiang* 空思想)."

> [As for] so-called sentient beings, [it is] as if [their] cognizing minds are able to realize the root [of existence]. [It is] as if the "great wisdom of no impediment" illuminates the absolute emptiness [of everything] by breaking down the four elements and the [five] constituent parts [of the individual]. That is to say, [great wisdom of no impediment] is [the realization of the simultaneity of] "one is itself, one is [included in] everything;" "one is not itself, all are not themselves;" "[as] one moves, all move;" [and] "[as] one does not move, all do not move."
>
> 所謂衆生若能識心達本 若能以無碍大智 照破四大正蘊悉皆空寂 所謂一了 一切了 一不了一切不了 一動一切動 一不動一切不動.[575]

In this passage, Zhikong appeared to suggest that the "cognizing (discriminating) mind" is able to "realize the origin (*daben* 達本)" of existence, to realize "essence." As already mentioned and accepted, the "cognizing (discriminating) mind" merely perceives things only in the phenomenal world, and it is always changing. However, Zhikong did not write, nor did he imply,

[575] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

that it was the "cognizing (discriminating) mind" that illuminated the "great wisdom of no impediment (*wuai dazhi* 無碍大智)." In fact, what he suggested is the opposite. It is the "great wisdom of no impediment" itself that illuminates the "vacuous emptiness (*xukong* 虛空)" by deconstructing various phenomena and making "essence" manifest.

It is not the "cognizing (discriminating) mind" that illuminates the "vacuous emptiness." Nonetheless, implied in this passage is the idea that, through "right practice," the realization of "emptiness thought" and its contingent "quiescent and unmoving awareness" makes "great wisdom of no impediment" manifest. One's realization of the "great wisdom of no impediment" is also the realization that every phenomenon in its "essence" is "completely empty" of, or devoid of, an inherent self-nature of its own. With the realization of this "one true wisdom" that transcends the phenomenal world, dichotomy is transcended.

The theme of this passage is the "perfect penetration (*yuantong* 圓通)," or omnipresence, of "interpenetration." "Perfect penetration" points to the idea that when one experiences realization of awakening, it is also the realization of "essence," of "essential self-nature," and of "true emptiness." The realization that all phenomena are empty, and so on, is a unitary realization. The realization of "perfect penetration" is the realization that "one is (included in) everything (*yile yijile* 一了一切了)" as well as "one is not [merely] itself, all are not (merely) themselves (*yibuliao yiqie buliao* 一不了一切不了)." These two referents to "interpenetration" mean that every thing, or phenomenon, or *dharma*, is simultaneously itself, all things, not itself and not all things, as well as "essence." Therefore, they infer the Huayan concept "one is many (without obstruction) (*yijiduo* 一卽多)." This invokes Nagarjuna's classic Buddhist concept of "four-cornered negation"[576] that denounces any conceptualization of or objectification to any thing in the phenomenal world itself as "essence" or truth or reality. The same goes for the dichotomy of

[576] This is a rhetorical device of examining and refuting all the four logically possible alternatives on describing reality. Emptiness is existence, non-existence, both existence and non-existence, and neither existence nor non-existence.

"(as) one moves, all move (*yi dong yiqie dong* 一動一切動)" and "(as) one does not move, all do not move (*yi budong yiqie budong* 一不動一切不動)." As mentioned before, "to move (*dong* 動)" in this context means "to act with perception." The implication is that to not move means to act with the awareness of the "true mind."

Zhikong implied in the above passage that when one has the experience of realization, it appears to that person as if the entire world has undergone realization. So, with one's post-realization mind of "quiescent and unmoving awareness," all things or phenomena or *dharmas*, even in their superficial, phenomenal individuality, simultaneously appear to that mind as also being "quiescent and unmoving." Conversely, with one's pre-realization and merely "cognizing (discriminating) mind" which is mired and suffering in the phenomenal, *samsaric* world of transmigration, all things appear to that mind as also being mired in suffering and "movement," as that mind perceives things to always be changing. The way to realize "one is all (*yi ji yiqie* 一卽一切)" is, initially, by training the cognizing mind to be receptive to realization, and Zhikong's method of training is his representative practice of following or enacting "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts."

> Therefore, while one [in practice] is, throughout [his] life, always in the state of meditative contemplation, when approaching the time of death he is not at all confused. In relation [to this], if one is, throughout [his] life, always in the state of confusion, [then] when approaching the time of death he cannot at be in meditative contemplation.
>
> 所以者何 則此一生常在於定 臨終之時 悉不能亂 卽狀此一生常在於亂 臨終之時 終不能定.[577]

In this passage, Zhikong asserted that Buddhist practice is ultimately only the practice of the "meditative contemplation" of wisdom. This also implies that the "three practices" and the "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" interpenetrate, just as "one is (included in) everything (*yile yijile* 一了一切了)." In the beginning, the process of practice of learning and following the precepts of the *vinaya* is the preparation of the "cognizing (discriminating) mind" of "attachment

[577] *Chanyao lu* 1326.

(or desire) and (discriminating) views (*aijian* 愛見),"of "delusion (ignorance) (*ch*i 癡)," of "craving (*tanai* 貪愛)," and so on, to be receptive, through "meditative contemplation," to the experience of realization of "essence", or "quiescence and true emptiness." Ultimately, as the theory goes, the practitioner comes to experience the realization of enlightenment, or the "cognitive apprehension of (the experience of) realization (*ledong* 了達)," through practice. After this point, continued practice is (practice-as-)cultivation of the realization experience itself. If, throughout one's life, one does not train the mind to be receptive to the potential to have this experience, then one will still be as confused at the time of death as he has been throughout his life. Thus, the implication is that proper practice is the process of preparation for the possibility of the realization of enlightenment.

Confirmation of awakening [to one's] self nature occurs in the actual reality [of practice]. The method of entering [awakening] is [inherent in one's] original [self-]nature. Of all the standards [of this] there is "oceanic practice." It is the empty practice of the Buddha. [Practice] is always able to permanently eliminate the dispositions and the condition of bondage due to afflictions. [Awakening] is a hidden part of [us but] it does not [merely] dwell within. Practice [that] is empty and quiescent like the Buddha [allows us to] permanently eliminate doubt. Entering the Buddha's "oceanic wisdom" through the "path of faith" is possible for every sentient being [and one] can always be guarded and protected. Those sentient beings [that follow the path of faith] are not abandoned by a ["good"] friend interpenetrate the Buddha's *Dharma*. The place of practice is the realm [which] guards the holy *Dharma* [and making the] sincere vow [to save other sentient beings without fail and] to accept and maintain faith [in Buddhist teachings]. All the true teachings of the Buddha in the present and the past arise [from the] "inherited nature" of buddhahood. The virtuous have [this] inclination [to realize] "omniscience."

覺悟自性 現證實際 入法本性 度諸有海行 於如來虛空之行 悉能永斷 隨眠結縛 而於攝藏住 無所住 行空寂靜 於如來所 永斷疑惑 入佛智海 勝信道中 常能衛護 一切衆生 與諸有情 爲不捨友 通達佛法 所行境界 守護聖法 誓願受持 諸佛正教 現前得生 如來種性 善能趣向 一切智智.[578]

This passage above asserts that confirmation, and validation as being true, of awakening to "inherent self-nature" occurs within and through correct practice. Zhikong discussed the fundamental standard of the empty and void "oceanic practice (*haixing* 海行)" of the Buddha.

[578] *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* 1353.

This emphasizes the breadth of the (innumerable) types of practices that could lead to the "awakening (*jiewu* 覺悟)"[579] to one's inherent self-nature.

Practice has the goal of permanently eliminating the "afflictions and the conditions of bondage due to afflictions (*suimian jiefu* 隨眠結縛)"[580] that bind one to the *samsaric*, phenomenal world, and thus eliminating "doubt (*yihuo* 疑惑)" concerning the reality of "essence." Both the potential for awakening and the potential for the enactment of right practice to realize awakening are inherent within each sentient being, but are not necessarily dormant or hidden especially when practice toward nurturing and realizing them is enacted.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on Zhikong's paradigm of Buddhist practice; his specific way of applying well-known concepts from a variety of schools of Buddhism. "Right practice" in Zhikong's case is following "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts," via the "path of faith (*xindao* 信道)." This path is faith in the *Dharma*, "guarding and protecting (*weihu* 衛護)" it, the removal of doubt, and a "sincere vow to accept and maintain faith (*shiyuan shouchi* 誓願受持)" in the *Dharma* and to save all other sentient beings. This faith necessarily permeates or "interpenetrates"[581] all aspects of practice, and implies an "inclination (*quxiang* 趣向)" or predisposition to uncovering, realizing and cultivating this inherent self-nature of "omniscience (*yiqie zhizhi* 一切智智)." Zhikong envisioned the goal of practice as the enactment of precepts as a simultaneity of the "three practices." After one experiences realization, the subsequent continued following of precepts is no longer a practice or a process. It is a cultivation of realization through the continued enactment of the "neither arising nor non-arising precepts."

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[579] This means to directly awaken to the true nature of existence, thus to realize enlightenment. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[580] This specifically means "conjoining and inception," but in the Buddhist context it refers to the afflictions that cause the individual suffering in the phenomenal (conventional and conditioned) or *samsaric* world.
[581] Here, the term applied and that is specific to Buddhism is "interpenetration (*tongda* 通達)."

An investigation of Zhikong's paradigm of practice through the concepts that comprise it is imperative in order to understand why his thought was more accepted in the Goryeo Jogye Seon Order than in the Chinese Chan *sangha*. In the next and final chapter, I begin with a presentation of the historical development of Goryeo Seon Buddhism as it differs from that of Yuan-period Chinese Chan in the ways in which it correlates with Zhikong's Buddhism. I discuss and compare the eclectic and syncretic forms of Buddhism of Zhikong and Jinul. I highlight Zhikong's relationship with Naong and its significance to the perpetuation of Buddhism there, especially concerning the issue of succession in the Jogye Seon Order and Zhikong's role in augmenting the theory of Naong's succession. Through my translations and discussions of passages from primary sources, I demonstrate Zhikong's limited involvement in political affairs.

CHAPTER 6: ZHIKONG AND GORYEO BUDDHISM

At the time of Zhikong, practice in the Jogye Seon Order had aspects that differed from the practice in the Chinese Chan *sangha* in Yuan China. As well, the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* had elements that paralleled the thought, teaching and practices of Zhikong. In this chapter, I discuss these elements. They are associated with the legacy of Jinul, with the problem of lineage succession and orthodoxy in the Jogye Seon Order, with key concepts of Hwaeom (Huayan) school thought, with Korean Buddhism's acceptance of the "*bodhisattva* precepts" system, and with the renovation of Goryeo Buddhism near the start of the Neo-Confucian-based Joseon Dynasty that had Hoeam Temple as the symbol of Zhikong's legacy on the peninsula.

First, due to the influence of the monk Jinul (지눌, Zhine 知訥, 1158-1210 C.E.), [582] there was a "renewed approach to Hwaeom theory (Huayan *xinlun* 華嚴新論)" in Goryeo Buddhism's dual emphasis on the practice-oriented approach of "meditation (*seon* 선, *chan* 禪)" and the scholastic approach of "scriptural study (*gyo* 교, *jiao* 教)" based on the "indivisibility of meditative concentration (practice) and (scriptural) teaching (*chanjiao weifen* 禪教未分)" that Zhikong also advocated. This "renewed approach to Hwaeom theory" included valorization of the aforementioned Hwaeom concepts that were also fundamental to Zhikong's thought, such as "one is many (without obstruction) (*yijiduo* 一卽多)," "one is (included in) everything (*yile yijile* 一了一切了)," "one is all (*yi ji yiqie* 一卽一切)," and the "*dharma* body (*fashen* 法身)." Second, the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* (not just the Jogye Seon Order) valued particular texts specifically related to the practice of Buddhist precepts, some of which Zhikong also promoted. In fact, Neo-

[582] Jinul was likely the most influential figure in the formation of Korean Seon Buddhism. Jinul lived at a time when the *sangha* was in a state of crisis, in terms of interaction with secular society as well as internal issues of doctrine. He sought to establish a new movement, called the "*samādhi* and *prajñā* society (*jeonghye sa* 정혜사, *dinghui she* 定慧社)," with the goal of establishing a new community of disciplined, pure-minded practitioners. Jinul eventually accomplished with the founding of the Songgwang Temple (송광사, Songguang si 松廣寺) at Mt. Jogye (조계산, Caoxi shan 曹溪山). Jinul did not experience his three enlightenment experiences through classical Chan "mind-to-mind transmission" method. Rather, he had each of his three experiences of realization alone while reading a Buddhist text. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

Confucianism came to highly value and direct morality decades before the Joseon Dynasty began in 1392. Third, in relative contrast to the Chinese Chan school, which advocated the "pure rules of Chan (*Chanmen qinggui* 禪門淸規)" precepts system, the favored soteriological paradigm of practice in Goryeo Seon Buddhism emphasized the more extensive "*bodhisattva* precepts" system which was more closely related to Zhikong's "neither arising (nor) non-arising precepts (*wuxing jie* 無生戒)" paradigm. Fourth, certain elements of esotericism, esoteric practices and rituals that Zhikong used were also valorized in late Goryeo Buddhism. These included the use of *mantras* and other means to acquire "this-worldly benefits (*xianshi liyi* 現世利益)," and the performance of magical acts. However, there were some major contrasts concerning esoteric ritual practice that Zhikong clearly did not share with Goryeo Seon or the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*, such as "meat sacrifices" and the performance of esoteric rituals involving sex (especially at court).

I also discuss areas in which Zhikong influenced the late Goryeo period. The 1350s was a time of unrest and instability, as Mongol rule was disintegrating. Zhikong's relationship with Naong, who would become a major player in the late Goryeo renovation of the Buddhist *sangha* in the face of the looming structural change brought by Neo-Confucianism, was key to the perpetuation of Zhikong's legacy and his thought in the Goryeo and later, especially during the early decades of the Joseon. Among his disciples, lay Buddhist followers, and sponsors in the Yuan capital and on the peninsula, Zhikong achieved a degree of influence that he applied in the political realm.

Zhikong's successors, mainly people of Goryeo with Naong leading the way, not Zhikong himself, were able to integrate his legacy into the Korean Buddhist milieu. There was a transition period from late Goryeo, the twilight of both the dynasty's relationship with Buddhism as the official religion and Buddhism's influence in the court and politics as well as among the royalty, to the emergence of the Joseon Dynasty with its ascendancy of a staunchly anti-Buddhist, pro-Neo-Confucian ideological perspective. As is discussed in chapter five, this was also the case in the transition from the Yuan to the Ming. The early Joseon dynasty rulers allied themselves with

the literati who had adopted and implemented Zhuxi's conceptualization of Song Neo-Confucianism, which had been referred to during the Goryeo as "the study of nature and principle (*seongri hak* 성리학, *xingli xue* 性理學)." Zhuxi's thought had been growing in influence in the Yuan since the 13th century, and came to be identified by its opposition to Buddhism for political and social as well as religious reasons. The Joseon dynasty expanded upon Zhixi's conceptualization of Neo-Confucianism as its ruling ideology, based on a philosophical view had been growing in Goryeo since the 13th century. It was known as "Practical Learning (Silhak 실학, Shixue 實學)." Naong and others who had been influenced by Zhikong came to exert a significant influence in the Korean Buddhist *sangha* in the late Goryeo, just when Buddhism on the peninsula was at the beginning of a long period of suppression and persecution that continued throughout the Joseon period. To an extent, this situation contributed to the adoption of aspects of Zhikong's thought into Korean Buddhism, and which have been perpetuated up to today.

From the early 13th century to the end of the Goryeo Dynasty in 1392, the Buddhist *sangha* was in disarray, but for reasons different from those of the Chinese Buddhist *sangha* during the Yuan. The Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* had been changing and deteriorating due to centuries of compromises with and influences from indigenous and secular political, cultural and social elements of the society. Within this context, Naong appropriated, and may have even augmented, Zhikong's fame among the Goryeo population, and utilized his association with Zhikong to forward his own political agenda. His goal was to revitalize the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* by aligning it the philosophical and political direction of factions in the nation that were growing in influence in the mid- to late-14th century. This renewal and redirection were especially important for the Buddhist *sangha* at the end of the Goryeo and the first decades of the Joseon dynasty when Neo-Confucianism came to be the ruling ideology and Buddhism was openly persecuted.

The Historical Context of Goryeo Buddhism in Disarray

It is important to give an overview of the historical context of Goryeo Dynasty period (918-1392 C.E.) before describing Zhikong's involvement in and effect on it. Buddhism had been the state religion since its introduction in medieval Korea in the 4th century C.E. From early in the Goryeo, a system was established in which each temple was incorporated into a nation-wide system of temples organized by one or more of the established schools, such as the Yoga school (Yuga jong 유가종, Yujia zong 瑜伽宗) and the Hwaeom school (화엄종, Huayan zong 華嚴宗). The Imje Chan sect (임제종, Linji zong 臨濟宗) tradition was introduced from China into the peninsula during the Silla Dynasty (신라, Xinluo 新羅) period, thus prior to the 10th century, but it never became a full-fledged and independent sect on the peninsula. In fact, neither the Imje Seon sect nor the Jogye Seon sect (조계종, Caoxi zong 曹溪宗) survived the Goryeo period as an independent sect, as they were swallowed up by the Goryeo Jogye Seon Order, which became the defacto national organization for all Seon sects in the Goryeo and Joseon. Of contention is precisely when this occurred, and exactly when. As well, the Chinese Linji Chan sect system predated and was different from the (Imje sect that was absorbed by the) Goryeo Jogye Seon Order system which was developed and presented sometime during the 12th century, so even Korean Buddhists of the Jogye Seon Order have up to today regarded the Chinese system as a more fundamentally "pure" lineage. Right near the end of the 12th century, Jinul established the "gradualistic" soteriological paradigm of the Imje Seon sect as a main form of practice of Goryeo Seon. However, and most importantly, Jinul did so as either a member of the Goryeo Jogye Seon sect or, as some contend, as a member the larger and more inclusive Goryeo Jogye Seon Order. These are key points that are relevant concerning various issues in the historical context of Korean Buddhism that are discussed in this chapter.

Jeong-bae Mok[583] puts the time at which the Korean Seon of the "Nine Mountain sects" tradition came to be known as the Jogye Seon sect at 1125. The Jogye Seon sect was very short-lived, as the more comprehensive and syncretic Jogye Seon Order became the umbrella organization with all formerly-existing Seon sects under it. Through Jinul, the newly-established Jogye Seon Order carried on the gradualistic soteriological paradigm of the Imje Seon sect tradition, And, as the orthodox Goryeo Seon school, the Jogye Seon Order, began its position as the predominant sect of Korean Buddhism, which has continued up to today. Whether the Jogye Seon Order began in 1125, prior to Jinul, or after Jinul's death in 1210, as well as whether it was founded by Jinul or not, have been issues of contention in Korean Buddhism up to today.

Nonetheless, by early in the 13th century, the Jogye Seon Order had achieved the status of a school, and it was recognized as one of the "three schools"[584] along with the Hwaeom school and the Confucianism (Yuga jong 유가종, Rujia zong 儒家宗). However, by 1125 the Cheontae school (천태종, Tiantai zong 天台宗) had already begun to emerge, due to the work of Jogye sect monks following the thought of Uicheon (의천, Yitian 義天, 1055-1101 C.E.). The Cheontae school quickly and effectively rose in status and size vis-à-vis the existing Seon sects, and was successfully challenging the Jogye Seon Order at the end of the 12th century as the "fourth school" in Goryeo. In relation to this, Lee Jahyun (이자현, Li Zixuan 李資玄, 1061-1125 C.E.) wrote poems about nature and how his view of Daoist meditation through the lens of Buddhist Seon meditation could be used to supplement Confucianism.[585] He promoted and

[583] See Mok 1998, 154.
[584] The "three schools" of Korea should not be confused with China's "Three Teachings" of Daoism, Buddhism and Confucianism.
[585] Lee Jayun was a retired Goryeo government official, poet and synthesizer of Confucianism and Buddhism, and a recluse in the Daoist tradition. He was a relative of the Goryeo queen. He renounced public office and renovated what is today's Cheongpyeong Temple (청평사, Qingping si 淸平寺) near today's Chuncheon city (춘천시) in order to engage in his spiritual development. Both Zhikong and Naong visited this temple centuries later. See Hyeokjin Gwon (권혁진), "The Poetic World of Lee Ja-Hyun (이자현의 시세계)" 한자한문교육, 13 권, 0 호 (2004): 231-262.

popularized the *Lankâvatāra Sūtra* (*Lengjia Jing* 楞伽經)[586] early in the 12th century, and it became a widely-read and influential text. This text would prove to be very influential in the development of Jinul's thought and paradigm of practice, thus in Korean Buddhism.

At the end of the 12th century, Jinul introduced the "phrase-observing meditation (*ganhwa seon* 간화선, *kanhua chan* 看話禪)" practice of the Chinese Linji Chan sect monk Dahui Zhonggao (大慧宗杲, 1089-1163 C.E.) into the peninsula. This practice, along with Jinul's emphasis on the accessibility of the practice of meditation for the laity and specifically through his emphasis in the text on the primacy of "faith (*xin* 信)" in one's practice, contributed greatly to the ascendancy of the Jogye Seon Order, by then already designated as a school. As well, from the early 13th century and due to a large extent to Jinul's influence, the Goryeo Jogye Seon Order utilized the freedom afforded by its emphasis on "phrase-observing meditation" practice. The practical, integrative and syncretic elements of this type of practice enabled the school to absorb or come to terms with the various non- Seon sects of Buddhism. For example, Jinul syncretized the practice-oriented approach of "meditation" and the scholastic approach of "scriptural study" in his "renewed approach to Hwaeom theory," as the basis of his soteriological paradigm of practice for the Jogye Seon Order. All Seon sects became absorbed into the Order.

However, by the beginning of the 13th century, the entire Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* and the "four schools" were already in disarray. Buddhism had been changing and deteriorating due to centuries of compromises with and influences from indigenous and secular political, cultural and social elements. While the *sangha* was interested in addressing and overcoming this deterioration through a restorative "return to the origins of Buddhism," it lacked a cohesive vision. The disarray and lack of cohesion were even more pronounced in the Goryeo political, economic and social milieu, which further limited its ability to adapt in any organized way. Nonetheless, the

[586] The crux of this text, originally compiled by Li Tongxuan (李通玄, 635-730 C.E.), is the fundamental primacy of consciousness as reality. All things are manifestations of the Mind. From this text, Jinul applied this text's key aspect of faith, the primacy of faith in Buddhist spiritual practice, to his own paradigm of practice.

newly-established Jogye Seon Order had become the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha's* response to this widespread instability.

Jinul and His Enduring Influence on the Goryeo Buddhist *Sangha*

In this section, I examine how Jinul's thought influenced the direction of the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* and provided the groundwork with which Zhikong's thought would be received and accepted. I refer to Yi Saek's representation of Naong[587] to support my contention that Naong associated himself with Zhikong's "supplementary biographical lineage (*liupai biezhuan* 流派別傳)," discussed in chapter three, for his own political purposes. Naong traced his lineage back to the Chinese monk Nanyue Huairang (南嶽懷讓, 677-744 C.E.),[588] the main successor to the renowned sixth Chan patriarch Huineng (慧能) who founded the school which his disciple Mazu Daoyi **(**馬祖道一, 707-786 C.E.)[589] popularized. It was this school that eventually became the Linji Chan sect lineage, "the only direct transmission of Chan to outlast the Tang dynasty in China."[590] Mazu developed the thought of Huineng through his idealist view of practice. Mazu viewed practice as beginning and ending in ordinary life, as there is nothing to be perfected; no purity, no *samadhi* or *prajna*, and no faith.[591] There is no gradual unfolding of ultimate truth, as it is fully realized in a single instant of insight. As there is "no sequence of practice (*wucidi* 無次第)" whatsoever, practice and cultivation and full and complete realization are sudden. Therefore,

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[587] "Written Record of Buddhist Monk Lanweng (懶翁和尙語錄)," in *Entire Collection of Korean Buddhist Works*, 709a-711a. (Seoul: Tongguk University Press, 6, 1984).

[588] Nanyue Huairang (南嶽懷讓, 677-744 C.E.) was a Tang period Chan master from Qinzhou. He became a monk at 15 years of age, studying under Huineng for a period of 8 years. In 714 Nanyeu moved to Banyao temple in Nanyue, where he remained for some 30 years. During this time he gained fame as a meditation master, developing a Chan teaching style called "Nanyue." He was given the posthumous title of Dahui (大慧). He had six major disciples, including Mazu Daoyi and Qingyuan Xingsi (青原行思, ca. 660-740 C.E.), who established major lines of transmission of Nanyue's methods. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

[589] Mazu Daoyi was one of the most influential Chan masters in the history of Chinese Buddhism. His style of Chan had a deep influence on early Korean Seon Buddhism, as many early Korean monks studied under Mazu and his students. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

[590] Robert E. Buswell, Jr., *The Korean Approach to Zen: The Collected Books of Chinul* (University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1983), 44.

[591] Peter, N. Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 351.

there is nothing to drop or to affirm, or to even understand, as everything, even that emanating from the "cognizing (discriminating) mind," is (a function of) the "Buddha-mind (*foxin* 佛心)." This is the distinctive and idealistic "*samsāra*-affirming" style of meditation practice that later became identified with and representative of the Chan school.

According to Robert Buswell, Jinul combined the affirmative and negative aspects of Chinese Chan into his uniquely syncretic, approach to Seon practice, which has come to be associated with Korean Jogye Seon Order practice up to today.[592] Despite the demise of the Imje sect during the Goryeo, its gradualistic soteriological paradigm of practice was advocated and carried on by Jinul. He combined the "sudden awakening, gradual cultivation (*tono jeomsu* 돈오점수, *dunwu jianxiu* 頓悟漸修)" paradigm of practice of Imje Seon with the scholarship of "scriptural study" to create his uniquely Korean version of a Seon paradigm of practice.[593] In conjunction with this, he also developed and advocated the soteriological paradigm of the "simultaneous cultivation of meditative concentration and wisdom (*jeonghye ssangsu* 정혜쌍수, *dinghui shuangxiu* 定慧雙修)."

Jinul's vision contrasted sharply with the established Goryeo Buddhist orthodoxy that had been long-established and influential in the governing status quo, having permeated most areas of society. It was not until after the first few decades of the Joseon period, or early in the 15th century, that the dissolution of the organizational distinction between the subitist Seon school and sects and the scriptural study schools attempted by Jinul became the accepted paradigm, as these two became one school under the guidance of Seosan Daesa (서산대사, Xishan Dashi 西山大師, 1520-1604 C.E.), the most politically influential monk of the Joseon dynasty. With Sosan, Jinul's vision of a Buddhist soteriological paradigm became the orthodox practice in Korean Buddhist

[592] Buswell 1983; and Yoon-kil Suh, "The History and Culture of Buddhism in the Koryo Dynasty," in *The History and Culture of Buddhism in Korea*, ed. The Korean Buddhist Research Institute (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1993), 139-153.

[593] Recently, Seongcheol (성철, Xingche 性徹, 1912-1993), citing Taego Bou as the true successor of the Imje Seon sect line of patriarchs rather than Jinul, advocated Huineng's original stance of "sudden awakening, sudden cultivation" as opposed to Jinul's early advocacy of "sudden awakening, gradual cultivation." See Shim 1999, 214-218.

sangha, and this paradigm has continued up to the present. Regardless of their denominations, writes Shim,[594] all Korean Buddhist monks even today are initially instructed in Jinul's thought, orientation and systematic approach to the study of key scriptures of the Buddhist traditions in East Asia. Buswell[595] discusses how Goryeo Buddhism approached the highly sectarian Chinese Buddhist tradition syncretically. As Buddhism developed into a popular movement on the peninsula in the late Goryeo period, the thaumaturgic tradition of Northern Chinese Buddhism became central in Korean Buddhism, even though native shamanistic practices, such as "meat sacrifices," continued to be practiced. Jinul's syncretic unity of "meditation practice" and "scriptural study" became the predominant perspective of Goryeo Buddhism. I discuss the significance of this concerning Zhikong in the following section.

Zhikong and the Problem of Lineage and Orthodoxy in the Goryeo *Seon Sangha*

Zhikong's influence on Goryeo Buddhism is directly related to the issue of lineage and orthodoxy in Korean Seon. Concerning lineage, Korean Buddhism differs from Chinese Buddhism in that it has historically treated the genealogy of Buddhist "founding patriarch (*josa* 조사, *zushi* 祖師)" within its own *sangha* with more ambivalence and as being of limited importance than those in the Chinese Buddhist *sangha*. Even up to today, the Korean Seon *sangha* has been engaged in controversy concerning the issues of lineage and orthodoxy, and Zhikong but especially Jinul have been at the forefront of this controversy. Historically, Korean Buddhist monks have valued and sought the influence of Chinese monks and their thought, as well as those of Indian monks. However, there had been little direct contact between Korean monks and Indian monks of stature for centuries prior to Zhikong.

Jinul has been widely accepted as a major figure within Korean Seon Buddhism due to his contribution to the development of the ideology and practice of Buddhism in Korea. However, the

[594] Shim 1999, 154.
[595] R.E. Buswell, Jr., *Tracing Back the Radiance: Chinul's Korean Way of Zen* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), 2-3.

fact that Jinul received neither direct lineage transmission[596] nor direct personal guidance toward his experiences of realization from a Chinese Chan master has limited the recognition of Jinul by Buddhists outside of Korea. Jinul may not have been the founder of a new Korean Seon sect. By ordination lineage, he belonged to the Nanyue (南嶽)[597] line of southern Chan. However, as he did not receive inheritance of any religious tradition directly from Nanyue or any Chinese Chan master, the claim by those who advocate that Jinul carried on the Huineng to Mazu to Nanyue lineage line in Korea is based on questionable merit. Not only that, Jinul never studied in China. By the time of Naong and Zhikong, Jinul's legacy and position in the Jogye Seon sect and Order lineage had already become issues of serious debate. The view today within Korean Buddhism of Jinul as a major figure with limited official recognition concerning lineage has to do with the uniquely Korean historical method of systematizing the position and legacy of Buddhist master monks within the Korean *sangha*.

Heo[598] discusses the way in which one would be considered a "founding patriarch" of a new sect, in the historical context of the Korean Buddhist *sangha*, particularly in reference to the emergence of the Jogye Seon Order by the beginning of the 13th century. To be considered a "founding patriarch," one should fulfill three requisites. First, an entirely new ideological system must be presented. Second, the founder's disciples must flourish and the succession should not be discontinued. Third, writings must exist that prove the inheritance. The new ideological system could emerge through the individual's training and from his experience of realization, but mostly it was transmitted by a notable foreign (non-Korean) monk. It seems to have been through these criteria that Naong attempted to both de-legitimize Jinul and his position within the Nanyue

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[596] Jinul received neither transmission of *Dharma* nor transmission of Order (sect) directly from a Chinese monk.

[597] See Buswell 1983, 347.

The Chan, meditative or intuitional, sect is usually said to have been established in China by Bodhidharma. This sect was founded on the esoteric tradition supposed to have been imparted to *Kāśyapa* by the Buddha, who indicated his meaning by plucking a flower without further explanation. The Chan sect divided into the southern and northern schools. The southern school became prominent in the seventh century, producing Nanyue (南嶽) and Qingyuan (青原), the former succeeded by Mazu (馬祖), the latter by Shitou (石頭). Soothill, "Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

[598] Heo 1997, 259-261.

lineage as well as within the Jogye Seon Order, and legitimize the lineage of Zhikong as well as Naong's own position as Zhikong's *Dharma* heir of his lineage.

Jeongbae Mok,[599] a modern Korean scholar of Buddhism, offers an important and relevant perspective concerning lineage transmission in Goryeo, specifically after Jinul. He distinguishes between two types of lineage. "Lineage of order" regards the administrative order and social interrelationships among members of a particular order or sect as the determining factors for ascribing lineage. In this type, changing from one's lineage to another, or founding one's own lineage, are difficult. On the other hand, "lineage of *Dharma*" valorizes awakening as the most important criterion ascribing lineage. In this type, monks are free to search for and select masters who can offer them the best opportunity for the realization of awakening. In fact, the activities of Taego and Naong demonstrate only a snapshot of the historical situation concerning Korean monks and the Chinese Linji Chan sect tradition. Mok[600] holds that the history of the acceptance of lineage in the Linji Chan (Imje Seon) sect tradition by all Goryeo masters, aside from Jinul, shows a horizontal, not longitudinal, relationship. This means that the all tried to receive transmission of "*Dharma* lineage" directly and personally from Chinese masters of the Linji Chan lineage. On the other hand, no Goryeo Buddhist master declared himself responsible for bringing the Chinese Linji sect "lineage of order" (or even belonging to it) to Korea. Most if not all of them revealed themselves as belonging to the Jogye Seon Order.

The "lineage of order" and the "lineage of *Dharma*" systems both existed in the Goryeo context, so the definition and designation of "orthodox lineage" was rather fluid. Jiang Wu discusses the importance of *Dharma* transmission as key to the continuation of Chan lineages, specifically in the Chinese context. Wu writes that through *Dharma* transmission, *Dharma* heirs could gain the legitimacy of the patriarchal position in an "imagined family."[601] Transmission was originally based on the concept of direct, "mind-to-mind" transmission, but Wu points out

[599] Mok 1998, 155.
[600] Ibid., 166-167.
[601] Wu 2002, 115.

that over time even "mind-to-mind" transmission did not necessarily have to be direct. A monk could claim transmission from a master who had already passed away or a lineage that had already died out merely by a feeling of resonance with the teachings of that master or that lineage. There are those in Chan sects that argue that remote inheritance and *Dharma* transmission by proxy were illigitimate forms of transmission, and that the only legitimate form was "transmission through personal acquaintance (*mianbing qingcheng* 面秉親承)."

This argument over legitimacy of transmission of the Jogye Seon Order has been going on in Korean Buddhism since its founding, and the divergent positions are well-documented. However, the problem of not having validated one "orthodox" position over the others concerning orthodoxy of *Dharma* transmission in the Korean Buddhist context is due to the fact that the discussion has been going on primarily within the Korean Buddhist community. Wu points out a trend concerning Chinese Buddhism has dealt with this issue, referred to as Confucian evidential scholarship. Wu shows that Confucian evidential scholarship in the 17th century in the Chinese context was a movement away from the study of philosophical speculation, and instead emphasized "text recovery, forgery detection, collation and examination of text editions."[602] He also demonstrates that Chinese Buddhist monks did acquire some experience in applying the Confucian evidential scholarship paradigm to Chinese Chan Buddhism, allowing them to view *Dharma* transmission from a distance and somewhat critically.[603] This is because every Buddhist master must have had Confucian literati followers who offered their expertise to Buddhist evidential scholarship research, in the Buddhists' attempt to define orthodoxy of transmission.

However, this has not been the case concerning Korean Buddhism. The Korean Buddhist community has been slow to adopt the rigors of evidential scholarship that the Chinese Buddhist community has. Yi Saek wrote biographical inscriptions on Zhikong, Naong, Baegun and Taego

[602] Ibid., 139.
[603] Ibid,. 163.

Bou (태고보우, Taigu Puyu 太古普愚, 1301-1382 C.E.). Minji also wrote about Zhikong and other Goryeo monks. Both of these Goryeo Confucian literati contributed to the perpetuation of Goryeo Buddhist thought. Yi Saek, perhaps in collaboration with Zhikong's disciples and sponsors, certainly contributed to the perpetuation of the representation of Zhikong with characteristics of an eminent monk. As discussed in chapters one and three, the compilers of the various parts of the *Chanyao lu*, which include Minji as well as Baegun Gyeonghan, recorded the "supplementary biographical lineage" of Chan that established Zhikong as the 108th generation patriarch. However, due to the lack of adequate evidential scholarship research on the Korean Buddhist context by either the Korean Neo-Confucian or Seon Buddhism communities, there is even today not widespread acceptance of the validity of this claim that Zhikong is the 108th generation patriarch of the "supplementary biographical lineage" of Chan. Nonetheless, the fact is that each of the key figures in the centuries-long and currently ongoing debate on who the legitimate heirs to the Korean Jogye Seon Order are, namely Jinul, Naong and Taego, is recorded as being the *Dharma* heir in the lineage of more than one sect. This is also the case of Zhikong. I suggest that the "fluid *Dharma* lineage" system that complicates Korean Buddhism, in part due to the relative lack of Buddhist evidential scholarship research on Korean Buddhism, affects the validity of the claims made about each of them being valid *Dharma* heirs in the Jogye Order.

During the Goryeo period, there were three main theories concerning who the "founding patriarch" of the Jogye Seon Order was. The Taego theory was the most influential, and it was countered by the Jinul theory. Both contended that its figure was the one who had founded and established the Jogye Seon Order during the Goryeo period. The Naong theory was the least influential. However, Heo offers a fourth theory, the Zhikong theory, to augment the Naong theory. The main reason why some considered Taego and Naong as founding patriarchs of the Goryeo Jogye Seon Order was that these two monks clearly were direct "successors to the tradition (*jungheung jo* 중흥조, *zhongxing zu* 中興祖)" of Chinese monks in the Linji Chan sect

system, as both had gone to China to receive transmission. According to these theories, being accepted as a successor of a lineage from outside of Korea, preferably one in China (or, in India through Zhikong), was a prerequisite to validation as a (founding) patriarch in the lineage of a Korean Buddhist sect or school.

Concerning the Taego theory, Taego went to the Yuan at the age of fourty-six, and was there for two years, from 1346 to 1348. He specifically received the "*Dharma* transmission" of Linji Chan, but not transmission of the Linji order, from Shiwu Qinggong (石屋清珙, d. 1354).[604] As well, at the age of thirty-one in 1351, Naong received the "*Dharma* transmission" of the Linji Chan lineage in the Yuan from his teacher, Pingshan Chulin (平山處林, 1279-1361 C.E.), who was a *Dharma* brother of Shiwu.[605] This occurred while Naong was in his relationship with Zhikong but before Naong received "*Dharma* transmission" from Zhikong. However, primary sources record both Naong and Taego as having experienced the "realization of awakening" in Goryeo, before either of them had gone to the Yuan.[606] In 1634, the Joseon monk Joongguan Haean (중관해안, Zhongguang Haiyan 中觀海眼, b. 1567 C.E.) wrote an extensive account of the historical development of the Taego tradition theory. In the 1620s, the Jogye Seon Order would finally consolidate its system by developing and disseminating the Taego religious tradition theory, thus supplanting the Naong religious tradition theory. Haiyan had an important role in the validation and ascension of the Taego religious tradition theory that had already been adopted long before.

By the time Zhikong interacted with Goryeo monks in the Yuan capital, which could have been as early as the 1323, the majority of the members of the entire Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* belonged to the Jogye Seon Order. Most members of the Order considered the patriarchs, of the

[604] Mok 1998, 159.
[605] Ibid., 161.
[606] Shim 1999, 24.

many "mountain temple (*shanmen* 山門)" sects of Seon on the Korean peninsula that perpetuated "southern Chan thought (*nanzong chan* 南宗禪)" during the late Silla period, to be the originators of both all Korean Seon sects and what later came to be the Jogye Seon Order. The commonly-held view has been that these numerous mountain temples essentially originated from the much-documented "nine mountain temples (*jiushan men* 九山門)" system of the Silla period. The "nine mountain temples theory" asserted that the nine mountain temples system formed the basis of the fourteen mountain temples that actually existed in Goryeo by late in the 11th century.

However, Heo[607] instead asserts that the "nine mountain temples theory (*jiu shanmen she* 九山門設)" was established late in the 11th century, thus long after the sects had come into existence and well into the Goryeo period (and prior to the time of Jinul). As already discussed, by the late 11th century, the Cheontae (Tiantai) school had emerged through Uicheon, and had five of these fourteen mountain temples within its system. Thus, as Heo points out, this grouping of all the existing fourteen temples under the pre-existing "nine mountain temples" system, and the subsequent primary sources that perpetuated this assertion, ignored or misrepresented the complexity of the Korean Buddhist historical context up to that time. More importantly, Heo asserts that this grouping was not an accidental misrepresentation. Rather, it was a political ploy engaged in by the then emerging, and subsequent pre-eminent, Jogye Seon Order, in order to usurp the growing influence of the Cheontae school vis-à-vis the Jogye Seon Order.

Mok[608] theorizes the Jogye Seon Order as having emerged much earlier in the 12th century. He situates this grouping of the existing Seon sects under the Jogye Seon Order umbrella organization as having already occurred by 1125. From as early as then, Mok asserts, the Jogye Seon Order was unrivaled in its influence. Nonetheless, in 1125 the recently-emergent Cheontae

[607] Heo 1997.
[608] Mok 1998, 154.

school began to successfully challenge the Jogye Seon Order. Subsequently, the Jogye Seon Order's influence in the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* suffered greatly. Therefore, the recording in primary source texts of the grouping of all fourteen temples within the Jogye Seon Order system via the "nine mountain temples theory" was more an aspect of political political strategy by the Jogye Seon Order, to assert in textual sources its position of dominance over the new Cheontae school, than a description of the actual existing circumstances.

Then, very late in the 12th century, Jinul, with his syncretic vision, combined the soteriological elements of the "meditation practice sects (*seonjong* 선종, *chanzong* 禪宗)" with the historically-based validity of textual study of the "scriptural study sects (*gyojong* 교종, *jiaozong* 敎宗)." This presented the Jogye Seon Order with an "after-the-fact" ideological rationale and justification for a "unitary religious order of Seon (*Channai danyi zongtuan* 禪奈 單一宗團)," with the Jogye Seon Order as the organizational center, that could unite all ideological and theological strains of Korean Buddhism under one body.

As for the Naong religious tradition theory, it posits three ways in which Naong received succession as the "founding patriarch" of the Jogye Seon Order. The first is the "Zhikong succession record (Jigong *gyesung sik* 지공계승식, Zhikong *jicheng zhi* 指空繼承識)." The second is the "Pingshan succession theory (Pyeongsan *gyesung seol* 평산계승설, Pingshan *jicheng shuo* 平山繼承說)" concerning the Chinese Linji Chan monk Pingshan Chulin and his relationship with Naong and Taego. The third is that Naong succeeded the "Sagul sanmun (사굴산문, *Sheju shanmen* 闍掘山門)" branch of the "nine mountain schools system" from any one of a number of senior monks, based on the context and content of his relationship with them. In order to discuss the validity of Naong's succession, the Jinul theory needs to be described first.

Concerning the validity of the Jinul theory, Heo[609] presents a text of unknown authorship, the *Writings on Rites and Ceremonies of Chan Patriarchs* (*Seonmun Josa Hyecham ui Mun* (禪門祖師禮懺儀文).[610] Heo cautions that this text may have been edited by Jinul's direct disciples and revised early in the Joseon dynasty period by Naong's successors, so the validity of its position on the issue of succession is questionable. The oldest extant copy of this text was published in the 60th year of the Joseon dynasty, in 1452. In this text, Jinul is recorded as the last patriarch of the "Nine Mountain Schools" system. This primary source supports the view that Jinul was associated with the Jogye Seon Order that emerged during the Goryeo. However, the designation "Jogye Seon Order," referring to the integration of Goryeo temples into a national system, had been in use prior to the time of Jinul. Therefore, Jinul could not have been its "founding patriarch." Nonetheless, that leaves the possibility that Jinul could have been one of the successors to its tradition. In addition, Zhikong's geneaology is different from that of Jinul. On the other hand, Naong was from the same "Sagul sanmun" branch as Jinul, and had been educated in that system. However, the Chinese Buddhism-based genealogical connection of the "Sagul sanmun" branch is not clear. However, what is clear is that Naong did succeed Zhikong directly, as I discuss later in this chapter along with my translation of passages from Naong's biography. At the third and last meeting they had in 1358, Zhikong presented Naong with a fly whisk, a robe and some Sanskrit texts. These are all traditional symbols of transmission.

Goryeo Buddhism came to have an ecumenical and syncretic philosophical perspective, due to no small extent to Jinul. The Fayan school (法眼宗) thought influenced the Cheontae school as well as Jinul and his successors. The Jogye Seon Order was ideologically linked to the "five schools (*wujia* 五家)" of Chinese Chan, but it had a specific association to the writings of the early syncretist Yongming Yanshou (永明延壽, 904-975 C.E.) that influenced Jinul. The views

[609] Heo 1997, 308-315.
[610] *Writings on Rites and Ceremonies of Chan Patriarchs* (*Seonmun Josa Hyecham ui Mun*, 선문조사예참의문, *Chanmen zushi lichen yiwen* 禪門祖師禮懺儀文) (1660).

of a number of key proponents of the Chinese Linji Chan sect contributed to Jinul's philosophical perspective.[611] Jinul read and studied a wide range of Buddhist texts. He successfully syncretized elements of a variety of thought forms. The Linji Chan thought of Pingshan Chulin influenced both Taego and Naong, thus lending ideological support for the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* to continue the ideological direction introduced by Jinul. Naong succeeded in the lineages of the "Sagulannmun" tradition in Goryeo, Pingshan of the Linji Chan tradition in the Yuan, and Zhikong, but he was most deeply influenced by Zhikong. So, while it has not been proven conclusively which one among Jinul, Taego, and Naong was the "founding patriarch" of the Jogye Seon Order, the ecumenical penchant of Korean Buddhism seems to have allowed the influence of the Indian monk Zhikong become a part of its tradition.

Zhikong and Hwaeom School Influences in Goryeo *Seon* Thought

As already mentioned, at the time Zhikong was in the Yuan and Goryeo, the practice of Seon in Goryeo had aspects that differed from the practice of Chan in Yuan China. More importantly, the primary sources show that Zhikong's thought, teachings and practice seem to have been closer to those of Goryeo Seon. However, this may have been due more to the lens through which the various Goryeo monks, disciples and sponsors who studied under Zhikong perceived him, and subsequently in how their perception influenced their presentation of Zhikong in the primary sources. Concerning Zhikong, the implication of the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* adopting the more comprehensive "*bodhisattva* precepts" system as a major aspect of practice is obvious. In the milieu just prior to the time of Zhikong, the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* had become structured in a way that made it receptive to Zhikong's thought and paradigm of practice. There are two primary source texts that offer the most direct explication of Zhikong's thought. First, the *Chanyao lu* was compiled by Zhikongs direct disciples, sponsors and second-generation disciples. However, while

[611] These Chinese Linji Chan sect monks who influenced Goryeo Buddhism include the 12th century monk Yuwang Jiechen (育王介諶) of Guanli Temple (廣利寺), Wenling Jiehuan (溫陵戒環), Dahui Zonggao (大慧宗杲, 1089-1163 C.E.), and Tieshan Shaoqiong (鐵山紹瓊).

its constituent parts were probably written in the mid 1320s, the entire compilation was not published in its complete form until 1474. Second, the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* was compiled by his followers in 1353, while Zhikong was still alive.

In this section, I discuss three dominant themes in these two texts that offer support for the view that these texts present Zhikong's thought, teaching and practice from the perspective and through the concepts and terminology of Goryeo-period Seon Buddhism. The first theme is the use of Hwaeom concepts, specifically those associated with the "*dharma* body (*fashen* 法身)"[612] concept, which by mid-Goryeo had come to be distilled as the "single body (*yiti* 一體)" unity of the "three bodies (*sanshen* 三身)" of the Buddha doctrine. Hwaeom thought had already become an integral part of that of the Jogye Seon sect, especially with and after Jinul, and was maintained in the Jogye Seon Order afterwards. The second theme is the valorization of particular texts which had not been popular in East Asian Buddhism since the Tang. These include the *Sūtra of Brahma's Net* (*Fanwang Jing* 梵網經), the *Vinaya of Brahma's Net* (*Pusa jie jing* 菩薩戒經) text (which comprises the latter portion of the *Sūtra of Brahma's Net* text), the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*, the *Revision of Baizhang's Pure Rules*, and the *Pure Rules of the Chan Garden* (*Chanyuan qinggu* 禪苑清規), written between 1101-1103 by the Chan monk Zhanglu Zongyi (長蘆宗賾, d. 1107). I discussed the history and significance, in the Chinese Chan context, of some of these texts in chapter five. The third theme is that these texts specifically relate to the application of precepts through the following of the "precepts of (neither arising nor) non-arising," which is the fundamental aspect of Zhikong's thought and paradigm of practice.

First, concerning the use of Hwaeom thought and concepts, the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* describes the basis of the *vinaya* rules that Zhikong followed

[612] In Madhyamaka (*zhongdao* 中道), the *dharma*-body is the one true reality, so it is the fundamental basis of the "three-body" doctrine.

and taught. Zhikong advocated applying the precepts and paradigm of practice advocated in this text to both the laity and monastics. As discussed in chapter two, these were based in the lifestyles found in India up to and including the time of Zhikong.[613] This text alludes to the doctrine of the "three bodies" by distinctly elucidating the concept of the most fundamental of these three, the "*dharma* body." The "*dharma*-body" indicates both the transcendence of form and the realization of *thusness*, of awakening, and is represented by Vairocana (*Piluzhezhena* 毘盧遮那).[614] Vairocana also represents the embodiment of the *Dharma*, shining everywhere, and is also the representative Buddha of the Esoteric school.

Heo asserts that the "*dharma*-body" concept was understood as "intrinsic (individual) self-nature (*zixing* 自性)," and was represented by a "single body," as was the case in Song Buddhism.[615] This means that the individual concepts of "three bodies" had become unified into the "single body" conceptualization, and therefore that one's "intrinsic self-nature" in its pure expression was actually one's intrinsic "thusness (*zhenru* 真如)," or universally pervading principle. As discussed in chapter five, these and other Hwaeom concepts also informed, but were not unique to, Zhikong's "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" paradigm. In addition, Goryeo-period Buddhist thought came to have the characteristic of being "directed toward a present-oriented view (*xianzai zhixiang zhuyi* 現在指向主義)." This is associated with Zhikong's

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[613] Heo 1997, 96-97.

[614] In Mahayana teachings, there are the "three bodies (*sanshen* 三身) of the Buddha. The *dharma*-body, also reality-body or truth-body, is the manifestation of all existences, the true body of reality. It has no marks of individual distinction. In Mahayana texts, it is identified with the "one true mind." Vairocana is the *dharma*-body *bodhisattva*.

Locana Buddha (Lushena fo 盧舍那佛) is the "reward body of Buddha (*baoshen fo* 報身佛)" that indicates the pure or bliss body that enjoys the merits attained by a *bodhisattva*. Sakyamuni (Shijiafo 釋迦佛) is the "manifest body of Buddha (*huashen fo* 化身佛)" or the "current transformation body (*xianshen* 現身)" that indicates the present body through which to teach sentient beings. In the esoteric school, Amitabha replaces Locana. Myungdae Moon (1977-78) and Kyuseong Hwang (2003) support the view that Vairocana as *dharma*-body originated in Buddhism's interaction with the light of the Universe of Zorastorianism. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010. See Myeongdae Mun (문명대, 文明大), "Research on Vairocana Bodhisattva During the Silla Dynasty (신나하대 (新羅下代) 비노차나불조각 (毘盧遮那佛彫刻)의 연구(研究)) 미술자과 (美術資科) 21-22 (1977-1978); and Kyuseong Hwang (황규성), "A Study on Paintings of Three Assemblies of Buddhas in the Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮時代 三身佛會圖에 관한 硏究)" (미술사학연구 (美術史學硏究)) 237 (March 2003): 103-132.

[615] Heo 1997, 96-97.

acceptance of the "this-worldly benefits" concept. In these regards, it appears that Goryeo Buddhist thought and Zhikong's thought had aspects that were also associated with Neo-Confucianism, which had begun the process of becoming established during the Song as well as during the the Goryeo period.

As discussed in chapters three and four, esotericism exerted a pervasive influence in Indian and Sri Lankan Buddhism as well as in Zhikong's thought. The important point concerning Korean Buddhism is that the Hwaeom school-associated "*dharma*-body" concept had become influential by the end of the Silla Dynasty, thus early in the 10th century. In the Goryeo, "*dharma*-body" thought came to be very actively applied in the politically influential Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*[616] as well as in the continued growth of the vast monastic estates during the early to mid-Goryeo period. Heo[617] states that "*dharma*-body" thought had already become firmly established in Goryeo Buddhism by the middle of the dynasty. He demonstrates and supports this statement by researching the interactions that the Goryeo monk Uicheon (1055-1101 C.E.) had with Song period Chan monks, in which Uicheon discussed the concept of "*dharma*-body" with them and was criticized. Uicheon returned to Goryeo to become the founder of the Cheontae (Tiantai) school on the peninsula in 1124. At that time, most "main buildings (*geumdang* 금당, *jintang* 金堂)" of Seon school-affiliated temples were called the Great Shrine Hall (*Daeung jeon* 대웅전, *Daxiong dian* 大雄殿),[618] and in them Sakyamuni, flanked by Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, was the main object of worship. This grouping on altars would soon change.

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[616] See Mun 1977-1978.

[617] Yeosik Heo (허여식, 許與植), "*Development of Bokhung and Kanhwa Seon of Seon Buddhism* (선종(禪宗)의 복흥(復興)과 간화선(看話禪)의 전개(展開))" *Research on the History of Goryeo Buddhism* (고려불교사연구, 高麗佛教史研究) 일조각(一潮閣) (1986): 466-468.

[618] Statues of the Buddhist trinity were on the altar in the Great Shrine Hall. Sakyamuni in the center was flanked by Mañjuśrī (文殊菩薩), the embodiment of wisdom, on the left and Samantabhadra (普賢菩薩), the embodiment of teaching, meditation, and practice, on the right. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

Vairocana, the representative Buddha of the Esoteric school, had become the embodiment of the supreme Buddha of the Huayan school of Tang period Chinese Buddhism by the 8th century, and by the 10th century images of the trinity of the three Buddhas began to appear in temples on the Korean peninsula. During the Goryeo, Hwaeom thought forms came to be incorporated into Seon thought to form the uniquely syncretic expression of the Seon school, as represented by the Jogye Seon Order. According to the Huayan (Hwaeom) school, the "*dharma*-body" is the "principle (*li* 理)" or noumenon, while the other two bodies are "phenomenal aspects (*qi* 氣, or *shi* 事)." The research of Gyuseong Hwang[619] supports Heo's view that the development of "*dharma*-body" thought in the Goryeo and Joseon can be observed in the paintings and statues in Hwaeom school-affiliated temples. By the late Goryeo and certainly in the Joseon period, the trinity of the three Buddhas was enshrined in images and statues in the Vairocana Hall (*Da jiguang dian* 大寂光殿),"[620] one of the main buildings found in all of the diverse types of temple complexes affiliated with both the Hwaeom school and Seon sects. In the Vairocana Hall in both Hwaeom-affiliated and Seon-affiliated temples, Vairocana was the center of the trinity, not Sakyamuni. Therefore, in contrast to Yuan period Chinese Chan school and sects and Chan's more limited association with the Huayan school, Hwaeom thought and iconography became much more a part of the Goryeo Jogye Seon Order.

Second, concerning valorization of particular texts which had not recently been popular in East Asian Buddhism, Zhikong regarded the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* as depicting the core of his thought concerning the following of the precepts. This text holds that the following of the precepts is a practice that is applicable to both the laity and monastics. Texts used in the Goryeo Buddhist context valorized such flexibility in the application of the precepts. In contrast, texts used in the Chinese Buddhist *sangha* were more restrictive

[619] Gyuseong Hwang 2003, 103-132.
[620] This is translated as the "Hall of Silent Illumination" or the "Hall of Great Peace and Light."

concerning precepts. The *Vinaya of Brahma's Net* as well as the *Sūtra of Brahma's Net* hold that the precepts in them only apply to secular believers. As for the "pure rules of (Chinese) chan (*chanmen qinggui* 禪門淸規)" precepts system recorded in the *Pure Rules of the Chan Garden* and the *Revision of Baizhang's Pure Rules* texts, the precepts in them only apply to monastics and not secular believers.

There is a direct link on the one hand between Zhikong, the Goryeo-period Seon school's acceptance of the percepts through the emergent "single body" reconceptualization of the "*dharma*-body" concept based on the "three bodies" doctrine and, on the other hand, the Goryeo-period Hwaeom school's appropriation of Vairocana in Seon-affiliated temples and the syncretization of Hwaeom thought into Jogye Order Seon Buddhist thought. The direct link is the Chinese Linji monk Tieshan Shaoqiong (鐵山紹瓊). Shaoqiong was a Linji Chan monk of the Yangqi branch (Yangqi *pai* 楊岐派).[621] He went to Goryeo from the Yuan in 1304, about twenty years prior to the time Zhikong arrived in the Yuan capital. Then, Shaoqiong stayed in Goryeo for more than two years, up to1306. As already mentioned, long before his arrival, the Yangji branch of Imje Seon (Linji Chan) had come to exert a great influence on Goryeo Seon Buddhism. During his time there, the Goryeo Seon *sangha* came to accept Shaoqiong as a master monk. He wrote and disseminated his copy of and commentary on the *Sūtra of Brahma's Net*, to promote its contents. This text is based on the "reward body (*baoshen* 報身)" concept of the "three bodies" doctrine, and it articulates and valorizes the religious precepts system of the Hwaeom school.

Heo[622] asserts that Shaoqiong's introduction of this text and its thought to Goryeo, only twenty years prior to the visit by Zhikong, provided the bridge by which Goryeo Seon Buddhism could accept and apply a system of precepts for both monks and the laity that was more restrictive and comprehensive than the "pure rules of (Chinese) chan" system prevalent in the Yuan. More

[621] The Yangqi branch of the Linji Chan sect was founded in the 11th century during the Song. During the Yuan, the Yangqi branch of Linji Chan became the main sect in the Linji tradition.
[622] Heo 1997, 96-98.

importantly, the valorization and application of precepts for both monks and the laity had already long been more pronounced in the Goryeo Seon Buddhism *sangha* than these were in the Chinese Chan Buddhist *sangha*, especially considering the aforementioned state of disarray of the Chinese Chan school during the Yuan period. This new system of precepts in Goryeo Seon Buddhism was based on the "*dharma*-body" concept, a key concept depicted in Zhikong's *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising*.

Third, these texts specifically relate to the application of precepts through the following of the "precepts of (neither arising nor) non-arising." As discussed in chapter five, at the request of the Yuan court, Dongyang Dehui in 1335 compiled the *Revision of Baizhang's Pure Rules*, in order to update the precepts of Baizhang's original text compiled in the late 9th century. The sects of the Chinese Chan school during the Yuan tolerated unconventional behavior and followed the more relaxed "pure rules of (Chinese) chan (*chanmen qinggui* 禪門淸規)" precepts system, rather than following the more restrictive "*bodhisattva* precepts (*pusa jie* 菩薩戒)" system that Goryeo Seon *sangha* came to advocate. Heo[623] asserts that the "pure rules of (Chinese) Chan" system exhibited a number of factors that represented a change for Chinese Chan (as well as Goryeo Seon and Japanese Zen) Buddhism throughout East Asia. This is because, concerning their choices of precepts and precept systems, the Chan monks in East Asia took into account their own social and cultural features as well as their particular teaching and learning styles that differed from those of India, where the existing systems of precepts had originated. "Pure rules" were not as restrictive in dictating adherence to a specific and narrow reading and following of the precepts. "Pure rules" offered flexibility in interpretation and adherence, thus were more reflective of the freedom associated with the Chinese Chan school and its sects, in contrast with the more comprehensive "*bodhisattva* precepts" systems of the more established schools of Buddhism. Therefore, the "pure rules" system allowed the freedom for spontaneity of action and "unconventional" behavior,

[623] Heo 1997, 95-96.

offered less restrictions on choices of action, and were based in the reality of the here-and-now. It deviated from the more restricting elements of prescribed religious belief system associated with the abstract "*dharma*-body" concept. To an extent, Chinese Chan school adherents were perceiving precepts as restrictive bindings to the individual and personal expression of "essential (or intrinsic) self-nature (*zixing* 自性)."

Concerning early Goryeo period Seon Buddhist sects, they also applied this emergent tradition of flexibility in their application of the" pure rules of (Chinese) chan" system. Early Goryeo Seon monks were afforded more flexibility, like their Chinese Chan counterparts during the same time frame in the Song. This tradition of flexibility was preserved, passed on and perpetuated with the aid of the publication of *Pure Rules of the Chan Garden*, after most of Baizhang's original text had been lost. However, Zongyi's text soon came into limited use in the Goryeo Seon Buddhist *sangha*.[624] By the early 12th century, only the Jogye Seon sect used Zongyi's text as the guide for "pure rules." This text was not used in all Goryeo-period Seon sects, prior to the establishment of the Jogye Seon Order. The "pure rules" system did not become the orthodox system on the peninsula until the the Jogye Seon Order became the main school in Goryeo. However, its tenure as the orthodox system did not last long.

According to Heo,[625] also growing in influence in the Jogye Seon sect early in the Goryeo period was another precepts system that competed with the Chinese Chan-inspired "pure rules" system. This competing system was the Mahayana vehicle-prescribed "*bodhisattva* precepts" system. It had a greater number of precepts, which were to be followed to the letter, and the system also demanded a wider scope of involvement of the practitioner. The precepts were more

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[624] Beomhye Choi (최법혜, 崔法慧), *Goryeo panjung cheomjokbun seonweon cheonggyu* (고려판중첨족본선원청규, 高麗板重添足本禪苑淸規), 해제(解題). 민족사(民族社), 1987.

[625] Heungsik Heo, "Records and the Administration of the Buddhist World 불교계(佛教界)의 조지(組識)과 행정제도(行政制度)," *Research on the History of Goryeo Buddhism* (고려불교사연구, 高麗佛教史研究). 일조각(一潮閣), 1986.

comprehensive in terms of their regulation of a monk's activity. This "*bodhisattva* precepts" system formed the foundation of the "taking the full precepts (*juzu jie* 具足戒)" approach that continued to be the accepted practice only in "officially recognized monasteries (*guantan shiyuan* 官檀寺院)." However, these official monasteries were initially, in early Goryeo period, not affiliated with Seon sects. They were mostly Hwaeom school-affiliated temples, but also included some Disciplinary (*Vinaya*) school and Yoga school-affiliated temples. Temples belonging to both the Jogye Seon sect and Cheontae (Tiantai) school[626] were not designated as official temples in early Goryeo.

However, this all changed during the mid-to-late Goryeo period. The "*bodhisattva* precepts" system rose in application and influence when the Jogye Seon Order and school came to be the all-encompassing orthodox school of Goryeo Seon Buddhism. After the mid-Goryeo, the practice-based Seon Buddhist *sangha* attempted to assimilate elements of teaching and learning of the so-called study-based schools, such as the more established Hwaeom school as well as the newly-formed Cheontae school. Along with this, the practice of "phrase-observing meditation (*ganhwa seon* 간화선, *kanhua chan* 看話禪)" was coming into dominance in the Goryeo Seon *sangha*, due to a great extent to the efforts toward syncretism of Jinul. In conjunction with the growing acceptance of Jinul's paradigm of practice, the *Sūtra of Brahma's Net* text came to be highly valued in the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* by the sect called the White Lotus Society on Wonde Mountain (Manduk san Baekryeon sa 만덕산백련사, Wande shan Bailian she 萬德山白蓮社)," which was associated with the Cheontae school. The *Sūtra of Brahma's Net* text, which focused on precepts for the secular lay believers and was the basis of Hwaeom school precepts, was one of a number of texts that advocated the "*bodhisattva* precepts" system. So, the religious precepts followed in the Cheontae school by the end of Goryeo were no longer those of the less

[626] The Cheontae school may have followed the "*bodhisattva* precepts" system on it's own, not having been required to do so like "officially recognized monasteries."

restrictive "pure rules of (Chinese) chan" school system. The Cheontae school followed the more comprehensive and restrictive rules based on the "*bodhisattva* precepts" system. This system came to be accepted within the entire Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*, including the Jogye Seon Order, after the passing of Jinul in 1210 and before the end of the 13th century, thus prior to the coming of Zhikong to the Yuan and Goryeo. Therefore, it is clear that during the 12th century, undoubtedly influenced to a great extent by the work of Jinul, the Chontae school as well as the Seon sects (and, later, the Jogye Seon Order) had begun to adopt the more comprehensive "taking the full precepts" approach that was based on the "Mahayana precepts," also known as the "*bodhisattva* precepts" system. The late Goryeo Seon Buddhist *sangha* accepted the soteriological paradigm of following precepts in the more comprehensive "*bodhisattva* precepts" system over the soteriological paradigm of following the less restrictive "pure rules of chan" system that was followed among the late Yuan Chinese Chan school and sects. As well, the post-12th century Goryeo Seon *sangha* was, despite its own issues, was better organized that the Chinese Chan school was during the same time period; the second half of the Yuan.

Thus, specifically in terms of the emergent Seon orthodox system of precepts after the mid-Goryeo period, Zhikong's "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" system thought was more closely associated with the more comprehensive "*bodhisattva* precepts" system of the Goryeo Seon Buddhist *sangha* than it was with the less restrictive "pure rules of Chan" system of the Yuan-era Chinese Chan *sangha*. In the Goryeo Seon Buddhist *sangha*, the more comprehensive "*bodhisattva* precepts" system had taken over from the "pure rules of Chan" system. In addition, Zhikong's soteriological paradigm of enacting the "three practices" through his representative practice of following "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" found a more receptive audience and milieu in the Goryeo Seon *sangha* than in the Chinese Chan *sangha*. It also appears as well that influential members of the late Goryeo period Neo-Confucian literati were less antagonistic towards Zhikong and his thought than Yuan period Han Chinese Neo-Confucian literati were.

The "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" of Zhikong emphasized no-birth, or "(neither arising nor) non-arising," which is the same as "essential (intrinsic) self-nature," "essence," as well as "Buddha-nature." All these concepts referred to sentient beings' inherent but as-yet-unrealized (potential for) enlightenment. In Zhikong's soteriological paradigm, "practice" implies the pre-realization following of the precepts by a "cognizing (discriminating) mind." One initially follows the precepts with the understanding that the ultimate goal is not merely to follow them to the letter all the time, as external loci of morality. At this point, one is in the stage or state which is prior to "contemplative realization (*guannian* 觀念)" of the "initial source of nature (*yuanchu xing* 原初性)."[627] The theoretical praxis is that following the precepts helps to put one's "cognizing (discriminating) mind" in a state in which sudden (and complete or incomplete) "realization (*zheng* 證)" of "Buddha-nature (*foxing* 佛性)" may be experienced or might occur. Therefore, the direct, concrete and practical enactment of the precepts, as opposed to attempting to conceptualize or understand their abstract meanings or implications, was the focus of praxis. This suggests that, in Zhikong's soteriological paradigm, there is no ambiguity in either the application of the precepts in practice or the meaning of each of the precepts, and thus there is no confusion as to how to follow each precept. The "goal" is to internalize the precepts so that the following of them becomes enacting them with a "non-discriminating mind (*wuxin* 無心)" in "mindful awareness (*nian* 念)" and "without (self-directed) thought (*wunian* 無念);" that is, with "emptiness thought (*kong sixiang* 空思想)." Thus, the "goal" of following precepts is to come to the state of being able to enact "the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" with "emptiness thought."

[627] *Wushengjie jing* (無生戒經).

Zhikong on Sacrificial Rituals

Zhikong's representative soteriological paradigm of following the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" was not completely accepted throughout the entire Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*. Nonetheless, it seems to have contributed to significant changes that were occurring at the end of the Goryeo period. In the *Chanyao lu Preface*, Minji implied that, due to Zhikong's influence, the people of Goryeo gave up their enjoyment of alcohol and meat, and those that had followed male and female "shaman (*mudang* 무당, *wuxi* 巫覡)" began to avoid them. This is illustrated in the following passage below.

> Those who [drink] alcohol [and eat] meat [should] discontinue [drinking] alcohol [and eating] meat, [and] those who like to [pretend to] be female [and] male shamans [and do these should] stop [being] shamans.
>
> 耆酒肉者 斷酒肉 好巫覡者 絶巫覡.[628]

This passage indicates that the practice of shamanistic folk religious rituals in Goryeo popular religion was affected by the precepts of Zhikong's thought. Suh writes that Naong, Baegun Gyeonghan, and Taego Bou had in common a political purpose for going to the Yuan to receive training and "*Dharma* transmission" in the Linji Chan sect. They shared the goal, of returning to Goryeo and then renovating the corrupt and stagnant Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*, because, according to Baegun, "wise men have disappeared and the Buddha *Dharma* has declined. Buddhist ceremonies at the Goryeo court were infused with Daoism and Tantric Buddhism, which contributed to a rise in superstitious practices. Now, all that is left is only evil teachings and tricky monks."[629] Buddhist ceremonies at the Goryeo court were infused with Daoism and Tantric Buddhism elements, which contributed to a rise in superstitious practices. This point is also directly made in the following passage from the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising*.

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[628] Minji. *Chanyao lu Preface* 1326.
[629] Suh 1993, 161-162.

[As for] those [people of the] nation who [perform] blood and food [sacrifices] daily [to the] three-mountains god, likewise [when they] hear these precepts [of Zhikong] prohibiting the killing and sacrificing of animals merely for worship [purposes], their respect [for the precepts] is enhanced.

血食是邦者 日三岳神 亦聞此戒 禁殺牲只祭 愈增敬異.[630]

Into the Goryeo period, worshipping the "three-mountain gods (*samak sin* 삼악신, *sanyue shen* 三岳神)" had been a prevalent and indigenous shamanistic practice associated with "mountain god worship (*sansin sungbae* 산신숭배, *shanshen chongbai* 山神崇拜)." This passage refers to the fact people in the Goryeo had historically performed blood sacrifices, a specific ritual under the more general activity of "sacrificial rituals involving meat (*rouji* 肉祭)," to the "three-mountain gods."[631] However, after hearing about the precepts of Zhikong they changed for the better and subsequently stopped the practice by forbiding the killing of animals merely for sacrificial rituals. While in Goryeo, Zhikong denounced this ritual practice, and persisted in maintaining and teaching the specific practice in Indian culture of using no meat in rituals. This passage supports the view that Zhikong's practice of "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" thought was directly influential in the decision by Koreans to drop "licentious sacrificial practices (*yinse* 淫祀)" involving blood sacrifice that had existed long before Buddhism came to the peninsula in the 4th century C.E.

As discussed in chapter four, Zhikong had already advocated this practice of using no meat in rituals while he was proselytizing among the peoples of southwest Yuan, who had until his visit been following the common East Asian tradition of using meat in sacrificial rituals. During his travels through Yunnan in the second decade of the 14th century, as well as in Guizhou and Sichuan, Zhikong denounced "sacrificial rituals involving meat" and instead supported and taught

[630] *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising* 1353.
[631] This practice of sacrificing to mountain spirits was reflected in the perpetuation of the story of Dangun (단군, Tanjun 檀君)," the myth of the founding of the Korean race.

"vegetarian sacrificial rituals (*suji* 素祭)" among the peoples he encountered who had been carrying out "shamanistic folk religious rituals (*tusu jiyi* 土俗祭儀)."[632]

During his visit to the peninsula, Zhikong fame continued to grow throughout Goryeo society. His "neither arising nor non-arising precepts" thought spread among all classes, including "ruling government officials (*guan renzhi min* 官人治民)." According to the *Goryeo History*,[633] after the Jilin prefectural official Lee Gwangshou (Jilin *fu selu* Li Guangshun 鷄林府司錄 李光順) received the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" from Zhikong, Lee no longer allowed the "people of the state (*zhoumin* 州民)" under his jurisdiction to use meat in the shamanistic "city god sacrifice (*chenghuang ji* 城隍祭)" rituals that they had been performing for generations. Lee also completely prohibited the people from raising pigs for the long-held purpose of being sacrificed in the enactment of "city god sacrifice" rituals.

However, members of both the Goryeo and Yuan courts were performing rituals of this type for most of the period of Mongol influence in Goryeo and Mongol rule of China, and even while Zhikong was in the Yuan capital. Heo[634] asserts that ritual blood sacrifice practices had gained adherents and a degree of acceptance at court and among the royalty in Yuan China, due to the introduction of Lamaist and tantric elements in court rituals and acceptance of Lamaism as the de-facto state religion during the Mongol Yuan. I discussed the problem of this assertion in chapter five. Zhikong was clearly openly against rituals involving animal sacrifice. Nonetheless, there is no record of him directly denouncing this activity to members of royalty who engaged in it. Interestingly, as it is glaring in its absence from primary source records I use in this dissertation, there is no mention of Zhikong interacting with Lamaists during his decades in the Yuan capital. This implies a lack of interaction with Lamaists on Zhikong's part, and suggests that he had his differences with the Lamaists.

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[632] T.2089. 51, 0984b.
[633] *Goryeo History* 1330 .
[634] Heo 1997.

However, the thought of both Song-period Neo-Confucianism and Zhikong contributed to the waning of certain aspects of native indigenous religious thought, especially in the final decades of the Yuan and Goryeo periods. While Song Confucianism had its own sacrificial rituals,[635] both Yuan and Goryeo Neo-Confucians advocated Zhikong's position of denouncing the practice of "meat sacrificial rituals." On this point, Zhikong's "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" thought paralleled the thought of Song Neo-Confucianism that had already become strongly rooted among the Goryeo "scholar-official (*sadae bu* 사대부, *shidai fu* 士大夫)" class that was educated in Confucian and Buddhist classics. In the late Goryeo period, this scholar-official class was in the process of becoming the Joseon-period "gentry (*yangban* 양반, *liangban* 兩班)" that would promote Neo-Confucianism as the ideological basis of the Joseon Dynasty. Both the adherents of Zhikong's "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" thought and the proponents of the Song Neo-Confucian thought in the Goryeo were strongly critical of the sacrificial practices using meat, and thought them licentious. Both groups were also critical of the indigenous shamanistic practice of worshiping the "three mountain gods" that had not only continued to exist during Buddhism's almost thousand-year existence on the peninsula but had become a part of Buddhist practices as well. On this point, Confucian scholar-officials, in addition to those out of the mainstream of the majority and virulent anti-Buddhism camp such as scholar-officials Minji and Yi Saek, gave tacit support to Buddhists such as Zhikong.

The Significance of Naong's Relationship with Zhikong to the Late Goryeo Jogye *Seon* Order

Based on my analyses, I assert that Naong and Yi Saek, as well as the compilers of both the *Chanyao lu* and the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising*, contributed to the perception and presentation of Zhikong as having characteristics of a model eminent monk, and

[635] Song period Confucian imperial rituals continued during the Yuan included "Confucian shrine worship (*wenmiao jili* 文廟祭禮)," "ancestral shrine worship (*zongmiao jili* 宗廟祭禮)," and "family shrine worship (*jiamiao jili* 家廟祭禮)."

that they did this in order to direct the renovation of the Goryeo-period Jogye Seon Buddhist *sangha*. In addition, I demonstrate that they did so with and by applying the perspectives, terminology and conceptualizations of Goryeo-period Jogye Seon Order Buddhism. They emphasized the features that Jogye Seon Buddhism and Zhikong's form of Buddhism shared. Thus, the compilers of the primary source texts often specifically portrayed Zhikong as having the characteristics of an eminent Goryeo Seon monk. As well, they presented his thought through the filtered lens of, and thus as having many of the representative features of, late Goryeo-period Jogye Seon Buddhism.

Heo[636] presents some of the key structural changes in the relationship that occurred between the Goryeo court and the Buddhist Seon *sangha*. Most important was the abolishment of the government-appointed position of "Patriarch (*josa* 조사, *zushi* 祖帥)" and the institutionalization of the position of "Royal Preceptor (Wangsa 왕사, Wangshi 王師)" to function alongside that of "National Preceptor (Guksa 국사, Guoshi 國師)." This change reflected a movement in the Goryeo political system toward a separation of the *sangha* from the court during a time when each was attempting to revitalize itself, in part by distancing itself from the negative associations, such as institutionalized corruption and waning influence in society, it perceived its relationship with the other was burdening it with. The Goryeo Seon *sangha* was in institutional and philosophical disarray. As a response to this, during the 13th and 14th centuries many Goryeo Seon monks went to the Yuan to receive training in new methods of practice from as well as to study under famous Chinese Chan monks, with the hope of receiving certification of enlightenment as well as "officially recognized" *Dharma* lineage transmission from them.

[636] Hungsik Heo, *Research Journal on Three Masters of Zen-Buddhism: Ji-Gong, Na-Ong and Moo-Hak* (*Samdae hwasang yon'gu nonmunjip: Chigong, Naong, Muhak Hwasang*, 삼대화상 연구 논문집: 지공·나옹·무학 화상), Pulgyong Sodang Hunmunhoe, Korea, 1996.

As already mentioned, Taego Bou (태고보우, Taigu Puyu 太古普愚, 1301-1382 C.E.),[637] Naong Hyegun (나옹혜근, Lanweng Huiqin 懶翁慧勤, 1320-1376 C.E.), and Baegun Gyeonghan (백운경한, Baiyun Jingxian 白雲景閑, 1299-1375 C.E.), the so-called "Three Goryeo Monks," were among those who traveled to the Yuan. Prior to doing so, all had studied and been influenced by Jinul's thought as all were members of the Jogye Seon Order. While in the Yuan, all of them studied in the Linji Chan tradition that traced back to Mengshan Deqiu (蒙山德異 1231-1308 C.E.), whose works were widely read Goryeo. In addition, these three demonstrated an interest in applying scriptural study as a major augment to their Imje Seon (Linji Chan) sect-based paradigm of practice, as Jinul had developed and taught, and advocated having a solid basis in the understanding of Confucianism and Daoism to augment their understanding of Buddhism. In fact, upon their return to Goryeo they all also promoted the emerging trend of syncretizing the "Three Teachings" of Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism. They were instrumental in firmly establishing the "phrase-observing meditation," initially introduced to Goryeo Seon Buddhism by Jinul, as a main aspect of the practice of orthodox in the Jogye Seon Order. In addition, Jinul's views had not been very influential in the by then-defunct, early Goryeo-period Imje Seon sect, but his views did resonate among members of the Jogye Seon sect and, later, in the Jogye Seon Order. On the other hand, Jinul's application of the gradualistic Linji sect-inspired soteriological paradigm of practice was continued in the Jogye Seon Order, and has continued in the entire Korean Buddhist *sangha* up to today.

Upon his return to Goryeo in 1358 after his ten-year period in the Yuan, Naong received the political position of "Goryeo Royal Preceptor Great Jogye Sect Seon Master (高麗國王師大曺曹

[637] Taego Bou (1301-1382) was a Goryeo Seon monk and a transmitter of the Imje (Linji) style of Seon in the tradition of Dahui (大慧), emphasizing reflection on the "head phrase (*huatou* 話頭). Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.

溪宗師禪),'[638] thus becoming the nominal head of the Jogye Seon Order. However, this exacerbated the problem of lineage affiliation in the late-Goryeo period Seon *sangha*. Prior to going to the Yuan, Naong had been trained in the Goryeo Imje Seon tradition. And, while in the Yuan, Naong had received "*Dharma* lineage transmission" from the Linji sect of Chinese Chan,[639] and he also had received a different "*Dharma* lineage transmission" from Zhikong. After the passing of Jinul, the orthodox, though not undisputed, Goryeo Seon lineage was the Imje sect tradition (which had died out as a sect) through Jinul. However, as already mentioned, it was during the Joseon that the "Taego succession theory" was consolidated as the line of orthodox Korean Seon.

There is no record of Naong specifically receiving transmission of the *Vinaya* school (Gyeyul jong 계율종, Jielü zong 戒律宗)[640] from Zhikong, despite the fact that Yi Saek wrote in his travelogue of Zhikong that Zhikong's education in *prajna* doctrines was more associated with the *vinaya* school than Chan. Suh[641] asserts that the purpose Naong had for entering the Imje Seon lineage, and subsequently going to Yuan China to receive "*Dharma* lineage transmission" in the Chinese Linji Chan line, was to aid in the revitalization of the Goryeo Jogye Seon Buddhist *sangha*. This was because this *sangha* had long been in decline and degenerating due to its acceptance of indigenous shamanistic elements, as well as elements of Daoism and Tantric Buddhism, in part through the influence of Tibetan Buddhists among Goryeo nobles in the Yuan court. To counter the harm that the Seon Buddhist *sangha*, under its representative school the orthodox Jogye Seon Order, had been suffering vis-à-vis the rising influence of Neo-Confucianism, Naong and others, including Taego and Bagun, accepted "*Dharma* transmission" in the Goryeo Imje Seon lineage:

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[638] *Entire Collection of Korean Buddhist Works* (*Hanguk pulgyo chonso)* 6, 710b.
[639] Naong was one of the aforementioned three Goryeo Buddhist masters who received "*Dharma* transmission" in the lineage of Linji Chan in China. See Suh 1993, 139-153.
[640] The Vinaya school was based on the Mahāyāna Vinaya and was founded by Daoxuan (道宣, 596-667 C.E.). Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[641] Suh 1993, 159-162.

> with a view to reviving the depressed [Goryeo] Buddhist *sangha* and in order to generate new energy in the nation…. Their aim was to reconstruct and to give new life to the Buddhist *sangha* which was being seriously attacked by the opposition to Confucianism… [Also] carried away with absolute mysticism [of tantric Buddhism] the [Goryeo] Buddhist *sangha* fell into ruin. Buddhist ceremonies were mixed with those of Taoism and Tantric Buddhism… Seon Buddhism and other schools were neglected and the fashion for Tantric practices led to an increase in belief in superstition… Though the Nine Mountains of Seon still existed well into the late Goryeo Dynasty, it had already lost its power to improve the society dynamically.[642]

Suh[643] writes on the introduction of the Linji (Imje) sect into Korea, and especially on the later activities to revive the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* by Taego, Naong, and Baegun. Suh provides the context with which to appreciate the affinity Naong may have had for Zhikong's version of Buddhism. All three had a common political reason for their interest in Linji Chan; to renovate the corrupt and stagnant Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*.

I support the view that Naong accepting transmission in the Goryeo Imje Seon lineage in the 11th month of 1347, prior to going to Yuan China,[644] offers support for the view that at least part of Naong's agenda for going to the Yuan was to acquire transmission in a lineage other than the corrupt and disorganized orthodox Korean Jogye Seon Order lineage. He then planned to, and subsequently did, return to Goryeo with the externally-verified lineage transmission in the Chinese Linji Chan tradition. He then applied that accreditation as political capital to acquire a higher status and position not only within the Goryeo Buddhist s*angha* but in the Goryeo political order as well. Thus, part of his reason for doing this in the Yuan was in order to fulfill both his secular (political) and *sangha*-associated aspirations upon his return to Goryeo. The problem, as already discussed, was that he had received "*Dharma* lineage transmission," which offers much more flexibility for a monk in terms of his choice of study and master. Korean monks sought "*Dharma* lineage transmission" when they went to study in China, not "lineage of Order transmission." I doubt that receiving "lineage of Order transmission" in the Linji Chan sect in the

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[642] Ibid., 160-162.
[643] Yoon-kil Suh, "Buddhism in the Koryo Dynasty" in *History, Language and Culture in Korea: Proceedings of the 20th Conference of the Association of Korean Studies in Europe (AKSE), ed.* Youngsook Pak & Jaehoon Yeon (Saffron Books, 2001).
[644] Naong arrived at Fayuan Temple in Dadu (Beijing) on the 13th day of the 3rd month in 1348.

Yuan would have afforded Naong any real gain in terms of his political influence in Goryeo. Anyway, the point is moot due to the fact that the Imje Seon sect had died out as an independent sect or order early in the Goryeo period.

There is primary source textual support for this view concerning Naong's political aspirations. Here is my translation of relevant parts of the biography of Naong by Yi Saek in the *Entire Collection of Korean Buddhist Works* (*Hanguk pulgyo chonso*).[645]

On thirteenth day of the third month of 1348, [Lanweng] arrived [at] Fayuan Temple [in] Dadu [and] consulted [with the] Indian monk Zhikong…. [Zhi]kong knew this was [the] way of Buddhist teaching [and] promptly [decided to] associate [himself with Lanweng] for 10 years….

On the first day of the first month of 1350, [Zhikong] was wearing [a] red robe which [the] empress [had] bestowed [on him]. [To the] assembled audience [in the] abbot's chamber [Zhikong] said: "[The] bright and true King of the Dharma majestically blesses [this] country. [In the] heaven above is [the] sun [and] below [the] sun there are patriarchs. Regardless of [being] "great or small," there are those who have [the] wisdom to exhaustively obtain [the] correct view!" [The] audience did not respond. Master [Lanweng] went out [of the] crowd [and] said: "Correct brightness is also matter of [the] beyond [so to say this] is a majestic [and] fortuitous country is empty noise. Understand without exception that [the] heaven [and the] sun are below the patriarchs. What is this boat that arrives [there]? [Zhi]Kong picked up [his] clothes [and] said: "[The] inner and outer are all red." Master [Lanweng] bowed three times [to Zhikong and] then left.

[I] present [the] one-hundredth-and-eighth patriarch [from] India, Great monk Zhikong…..

[Ping]shan asked: "From where does great virtue come?" Master [Lanweng] said: "[It comes] from Dadu." Shan asked: "Which monk did you see come [there]?" [Lanweng] replied, saying: "[I] was able to see [the] Indian Zhikong come." Shan asked: "What thing did Zhikong use every day?" [Lanweng] replied, saying: "Zhikong used "1000 swords" every day." Shan said: "Prepare [yourself as I] will use one of Zhikong's "1000 swords" on you." Master [Lanweng] used [his] chair to hit Shan. Shan fell from his meditation seat and shouted, saying: "This thief is [trying to] kill me!" Master [Lanweng] then helped [Shan] get up, saying: "My "sword" can kill a person [and] can bring a person to life." Shan roared with laughter [and] had a big smile [and] promptly took [Lanweng] by [the] hand to[the] abbot's chamber. [Shan] invited [Lanweng for] tea [and he] remained [there for] several months.

In [the] third month [of 1352, Lanweng] returned, arriving [at] Fayuan Temple [in] Dadu [to] again counsel with Zhikong. [Zhi]Kong greeted [him] as [he] entered [the] abbot's chamber [and] treated [him] to tea. Thereupon, Zhikong [presented Lanweng] one robe, one fly whisk, Sanskrit texts, some letters, and a book….

[In 1358, Lanweng] personally received Zhikong's "will," one "monk's robe"[and] one hand-written text, [and they] went to [the] temple for instruction. [Zhikong] laid out and burned incense and expounded on [the] universal teachings.

[Lanweng] traveled to the famous mountains [near] Yan[du] and Ji [region, and then] returned to Fayuan Temple. [He] asked Zhikong [a question] saying: "Where should [your] disciple go?"

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[645] *Entire Collection of Korean Buddhist Works* (*Hanguk pulgyo chonso*) 6, 709a-711c.

This text is the biography of Naong (Lenwang). Yi Saek, "Quotes of the Monk Naong (나옹화상어록, 懶翁和尙語錄)," Guangju Chan Temple Hall Opening (광제선사개당, 廣濟禪寺開堂), in *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* (한국불교전서, 韓國佛教全書), 709a-711c (Seoul: Dongguk University Press 6 (1984).

[Zhi]kong said, “[If you] return to your own country [and] choose the “space between three mountains and two rivers” to stay, then [the] Buddha’s Dharma will naturally flourish.” [So, in 1358] on the twenty third day of the third month, [Lanweng] bowed and took leave of Zhikong [and] returned to Liaoyang, Pyongyang, the east coast, and other places, in order to expound on the Buddhist teachings.

戊子三月十三日 行到大都法源寺 初參西天指空和尚.... 空知是法器 卽伴居板首十年….

庚寅正月初一日空披皇后所賜紅衣裳 於方丈內集衆云: 明然法王巍福國 天上日 日下有祖 不問大小 有智慧者 盡得對看. 衆無對. 師出衆云: 明然猶是那邊事 巍巍福國是虛聲. 天日下祖俱打了 到這船底是什麼. 空提起衣角 云: 內外都紅 師禮三拜而退…..

奉爲西天一百八祖 指空大和尚…..[646]

山云: 大德從何方來. 師云: 大都來. 山云: 僧見甚麼人來. 答云: 曾見西天指空來. 山云: 指空日用何事? 答云: 指空日用千劒. 山云: 指空千劒 且置將汝一劒來. 師以座具打山 山倒在禪床大叫云: 這賊殺我. 師便扶起云: 吾劒能殺人 亦能活人. 山呵呵大笑 卽把手歸方丈 請茶留數月. 是歲三月 還到大都法源寺 再參指空 空迎入方丈 請茶遂以浩衣一領 拂子一枝 并梵草信書一紙….

親受指空遺囑袈裟一領手書一紙 到寺授之. 師乃披拈香普說….

遊燕薊名山. 還到法源寺 問指空云: 弟子當往何處? 空云: 汝還本國 擇三山兩水間 居之則佛法自然興矣. 戊戌三月二十三日 禮辭指空 還於遼陽平壤東海等處 隨機說法.[647]

Naong first met Zhikong at Fayuan Temple in Dadu after arriving there in 1348, and tried to initiate a relationship with Zhikong. At the end of their exchanges and discussion at this initial meeting, Zhikong decided that he would be Naong’s mentor. Their relationship lasted for the ten years Naong was in the Yuan, but it was not neceasarily close.[648]

Though both remained in or near the capital, the two did not meet again until 1350 while Zhikong was addressing an assembly arranged by the empress and Naong was in attendance. Their exchange demonstrates the validity of following the Middle Way between two extreme positions. At a superficial level, it appears that Zhikong was insulting the state and the royal family (symbolized by the color red), in fact the entire world, by stating that the most important things under heaven and the sun were not the state or the royal family but the (Buddhist) patriarchs. This well-documented position of being above secular, even royal, concerns dates

[646] Ibid. 709b.
[647] Ibid. 710b.
[648] Suh 1993, 160-161.

back to Huiyuan's well-known treatise on why a monk should not have to bow to the emperor, as discussed in chapter four. Zhikong, like Huiyuan, did not mean to state a mere insult concerning the royal family but was presenting a position that any Buddhist monk should take; that nothing in this samsaric world of conditioned existence is (to be perceived as) permanent and worthy of ultimate reverence. Naong came out of the crowd and offered Zhikong the opposing position in his own statement of paradox; that all this talk about revering the state or the royal family was mere empty noise, and that even the heaven and the sun were below the Buddhist patriarchs.

Zhikong offered a closing statement in response; that the inner and outer are all red. Red is the color of royalty, thus invokes reverence. By this statement he was asserting the point that every thing is just as worthy of respect as anything else. This means that each person is intimately interrelated to every other thing in the *samsaric* world, and thus all things are as valid as any other one thing. It even suggests the Neo-Confucian position that all people in the state are important to, by having the responsibility of performing their role in, the maintance of the state. At the same time, there is the opposite implication in his statement. It is that from a pre-realization level of perception, because we incorrectly perceive all things as arising conditionally, in one's practice one should try to see all things as being equally unreal, or illusionary. Not only does every thing ultimately not permanently exist, all things arise co-dependently. Thus, no thing exists through and with a self-nature that is independent from other things. These are common conceptualizations in Buddhism.

After this exchange, Naong bowed three times to Zhikong. These bows demonstrate two points. One is his acknowledgement that Zhikong is the teacher. The other is that his bows imply that Naong understood both the point of using but not relying on the conditioned world of *samsāra* as reality. Thus, Naong was knowingly playing the exchange game by accepting the mutually understood role of offering an opposing (and paradoxical) statement that contradicted Zhikong's initial statement. This harmonious pair of conflicting positions presents the commonly-

used paradoxical situation in Buddhism that stresses the point that neither position offers an explanation of "true reality." Thus, this entire exchange alludes to the concept of the Middle Way.

In the portion of the passage on Naong's exchange concerning Zhikong with Pingshan, the Chinese Linji Chan monk that Naong had met with and studied under while in the Yuan and during the two years since his last meeting with Zhikong, Naong expressed how impressed he had been with Zhikong's "incisive wisdom (*qianjian* 千劍)," which Zhikong was able to apply in order to eliminate or cut through delusion. The exchange between Pingshan and Naong involved a physical altercation that is representative of the Chan school-style "encounter dialogue."[649]

In 1352, in Fayuan Temple where Zhikong was living in Dadu, Naong received symbols of transmission from him such a text on the precepts, a robe, a fly whisk, and Sanskrit texts. At their final meeting in 1358, Naong received a "monk's robe (*jiasha* 袈裟, *kasāya*)" and an official record of "*Dharma* transmission" from Zhikong. This signifies that Zhikong officially verified and validated Naong as having had the experience of realization under his guidance. As already mentioned, the Sanskrit texts probably were or included his hand-written copy of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Sanskrit that he had copied in Yunnan and that had been in Hwajang Temple in the first decades of the 20th century before being taken to Japan.

Also at this final meeting, after having visited some famous mountains near Yandu (燕都, or Dadu) and the Ji (薊) region, Naong asked Zhikong where he, as Zhikong's disciple, should go, now that his training under him was finished. Zhikong's response was that Lanweng should go and live at the "space between three mountains and two rivers (*sanshan liangshui* 三山兩水間)" in order to guide the flourishing of Buddhism in his native country, Goryeo. This place refers to the site of Hoeam Temple, where Zhikong had visited during his trip through Goryeo decades before. Zhikong wanted Naong to go there and renovate the temple there in the image of Nālandā,

[649] Naong received the tonsure in Goryeo at the age of twenty in 1340, went to Yuan in 1348 where he stayed until 1358. There, he studied under a number of Buddhist masters including Zhikong and Pingshan. See Suh 1993, 160-161.

because that site reminded him of the site around the Nālandā complex. So, Lenwang returned to Goryeo,[650] after being away for ten years, to continue the most fundamental activity of a monk, to perpetuate the teachings of Buddhism. In addition, he did so in such a way so as to honor Zhikong by leaving his legacy, a renovated Hoeam Temple as the "Nālandā of the East," as well as by revitalizing, at least for a short while, the Buddhist *sangha* on the peninsula.

As already mentioned, while it may be that Zhikong introduced Naong to elements of esoteric Indian Buddhism, I assert that the Goryeo scholar-official Yi Saek, who wrote the travelogue of Zhikong, and Zhikong's Goryeo monk disciples and supporters, who were the compilers of the *Chanyao lu* and the *Text of the Precepts of (Neither Arising Nor) Non-arising*, did not make it explicit what lineage Zhikong transmitted to Naong. They certainly imply that it was the Chan lineage, with the numerous allusions to Chan throughout these texts, but there are also suggestions that it could have been lineage in the *Vinaya* school or even the Esoteric school. As discussed in chapter three, Yi recorded in the travelogue that Zhikong was "the 108th descendent of the Chan lineage of its founder Kāśyapa,"[651] albeit a lineage that deviated from the generally-accepted orthodox Chan lineage at the point of the 22nd patriarch position and through the "supplementary biographical lineage" of Zuotuojuna (左陀瞿那) as the 23rd patriarch from Kāśyapa. Henrik Sorensen[652] writes that Zhikong transmitted "secrets of esoteric Buddhism" to Naong, and that this deviation from the orthodox Chan lineage that is attributed as Zhikong's lineage is a "totally absurd" fabrication by Naong and his followers, and is a reflection of the importance of lineage transmission as political capital in the late Goryeo Seon *sangha*. However, Sorensen does not offer any specific justification for these assertions other than credible assertions that tantrism had long been in Korea by that time. Nonetheless, I have already pointed

[650] The specific locations mentioned in the text are Liaoyang (遼陽, 랴오양), Pyongyang (평양, Pingrang 平壤), and the "east seacoast (donghai, 東海, 동해)."
[651] T51.982c.20. The esoteric tradition is supposed to have been imparted to Kāśyapa by the Buddha, who indicated his meaning by plucking a flower without further explanation. Kāśyapa smiled in apprehension and is supposed to have passed on this mystic method to the patriarchs. Muller, "Digital Dictionary of Buddhism." 12 March 2010.
[652] Sorensen 1993, 75-80.

out that throughout his travels and life, Zhikong extensively applied the "true words (*zhenyan* 眞言)," "mystical invocations (*zhou* 咒, *mantra*)," "*dhāranī* (*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼)," and "poetic hymn or verses (*jita* 偈他, *gāthā*)" of the late 13th century Indian tantric (esoteric) tradition.

It may be that we should not overemphasize the need to determine "lineage of order" transmission in the Goryeo Buddhist context. The historical reality in Goryeo Buddhism was to valorize "lineage of *Dharma*" transmission over "lineage of Order" or sect. The "spiritual resonance (*gantong* 感通)" or charismatic force of an eminent monk was and has continued to be valued over the order to which he belonged, in a Korean monk's decision concerning who to study under and receive transmission from. The most obvious example is Jinul. He did not receive direct "mind-to-mind transmission" from a monk of the Chinese Linji Chan, Caoxi Chan, or even Jogye Seon sect lineages, or from a monk of any lineage. Rather, and ironically from the perspective of Chinese Chan, Jinul had his three experiences of realization not only alone but while reading texts. Despite these two points, which separate the Goryeo Seon tradition from that of Chinese Chan, Jinul has continued to be considered a patriarch of the Jogye Seon Order, the very umbrella organization under which all Seon sects were put under and which contributed to the dying out of the Jogye and Imje sects as separate Seon sects during the Goryeo period.

It was not until after returning to Goryeo from the Yuan in 1358 that Naong became known as one of the two great Goryeo Seon authorities, the other being his student Muhak Jacho (무학자초, Wuxue Zichao 無學自超, 1321-1405 C.E.).[653] Naong's extensive writings include adherence to the practice of chanting to achieve rebirth in the Pure Land. The eclecticism and breadth of the praxis of both Zhikong and Naong (like Jinul's) are not mentioned in much detail by Yi Saek in his biographical inscription either of these two. However, Yi presents Naong and his student Muhak as Goryeo Seon monks of the Jogye Seon school lineage, despite the fact that Naong received "*Dharma* transmission" in the Chinese Linji Chan (Imje Seon) lineage as well as from

[653] Ibid., 166.

Zhikong. In addition, Yi is not explicit as to Zhikong's lineage in either his travelogue of Zhikong or in his biography of Naong. Why would Yi Saek not clarify this? The aforementioned antipathy, perhaps carelessness, demonstrated by Korean Buddhism throughout its history up to the Joseon period concerning genealogy, succession and the recording of a fixed religious tradition, compared with the emphasis on specificity of these in the Chinese Buddhism tradition, may have been part of the reason. However, I suggest that both Naong and Yi Saek had a political component in their association with Zhikong that seems to be deemphasized in current scholarship as well as in Yi's travelogue of Zhikong.

Sorensen adopts a different perspective. He highlights the connection between Zhikong and Naong, and the influence of the "esoteric teachings (*milgyo* 밀교, *mijiao* 密教)" tradition of Zhikong on Naong's practice of Imje Seon (Linji Chan). Naong was one of the most important Seon masters of the Goryeo period when, as is discussed in chapter five, Linji Chan was by the mid-14th century the dominant school of Chinese Chan Buddhism. Sorensen asserts, I think correctly, that the Esoteric tradition was an integral part of the makeup of Goryeo Buddhism, and writes that "there was an influence from late Indian Buddhism on Korean Seon through the transmission of certain esoteric practices and teachings."[654] Sorensen also points out that while the Esoteric tradition did not become prevalent on the peninsula until early Goryeo period and did not survive the Goryeo as a separate and independent school or sect, Korean Silla-era monks not only studied Esoteric Buddhism in China during the 8th century (the unified Silla period) under Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, two of the three initial Indian esoteric masters, the Korean Silla-era monks also wrote works on the esoteric tradition.[655] Esoteric practices became a part of the Jogye Seon sect, and esoteric rituals were a part of the rituals in Jinul's Susonsa organization. The *mantra* and *dhāranī* invocation practices were done for the purpose of achieving "this-worldly

[654] Sorensen 1993, 89.

[655] The early esoteric sects in Goryeo were the "Divine seal sect (Sinin jong 신인종, Shenyin zong 神印宗)" and the "*Dhāranī* sect (Chongju jong 총지종, Zongchi zong 總持宗)." See Henrik H. Sorensen, Henrik H., "On the Sinin and Ch'ongji Schools and the Nature of Esoteric Buddhist Practice under the Koryo" *International Journal of Buddhist Thought and Culture* 5 (February 2005): 49-83.

benefits (*xianshi liyi* 現世利益)" as well as in the context of "national-protection Buddhism (*hoguk bulgyo* 호국불교, *huguo fojiao* 護國佛教)."

As specified in chapter two, these elements of esoteric Buddhism done for "this-worldly benefits," with the explicit purpose of protecting others, as well as the nation, from harm or praying for good fortune, were clearly a part of Zhikong's Buddhism. Zhikong shared practices to achieve "this-worldly benefits" with the Jogye Seon sect and the later Jogye Seon Order, as well as with the reformist Goryeo Neo-Confucian scholar-officials who were growing in influence by the mid-14th century. On the other hand, they all also shared aversion for the sexual practices, esoteric sacrificial rites and application of *mantra* and *dhāranī* invocation for the purpose of increasing one's own "self-power" and one's own "this-worldly benefits," and not necessarily directed toward "this-worldly benefits" for others. In addition, they all attributed these aversive activities during the Yuan to Tibetan Lamaism. Thus, Sorensen supports the view that Naong utilized his doctrinal affiliation with Zhikong to augment his status and stature both in the Goryeo Seon Buddhist *sangha* and the Goryeo political establishment. The research of Suh[656] and Chae[657] also supports this view in that they present the historical development in Goryeo of the traditions and teachings of Buddhism that Zhikong was associated with; the Esoteric school, the Imje (Linji) and Jodong (Caodong) Seon sects, and the Disciplinary (*Vinaya*) school traditions.

This overview offers both a political and religious structure through which one can see how key figures in the Goryeo Buddhism perceived Zhikong and his form of Buddhism as useful to their need to revitalize a long-stagnating Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*. As I stated earlier based on my analyses, I support the view that their association with Zhikong aided in their attempts at revitalization. In the following section, I show how revitalization was aided by iconography that depicts perpetuation of tradition.

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[656] Yoon-kil Suh, "Esoteric Buddhism," in *Buddhist Thought in Korea,* ed. Y. Suh, The Korean Buddhist Research Institute (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1994); and Suh 1998.
[657] Taeg-su Chae, "Son Philosophy" in *Buddhist Thought in Korea,* ed. The Korean Buddhist Research Institute (Dongguk University Press: Seoul, Korea, 1994).

Zhikong's Relics at Hoeam Temple and His Portrait at Silleuk Temple

Hoeam Temple (회암사, Guiyan si 檜巖寺), along with Hwajang Temple (화장사, Huazang si 華藏寺) and Silleuk Temple (신륵사, Shenle si 神勒寺), have been representative temples concerning both Zhikong and Naong up to today. Hwajang Temple and Hoeam Temple were important temples during the late Goryeo, while Silleuk Temple was not. However, early in the Joseon dynasty period, Silleuk Temple gained in stature.[658] These temples house relics and iconography that demonstrate continuity of the influence of Buddhism on Korean history.

To view my photos of the portraits of Zhikong, Naong and Muhak stored at Silleuk Temple, see Figure 1 to Figure 5. Figure 1 is a frontal view of the Hall of Ancient Masters (Josa Dang 조사당, Zushi Tang 祖師堂), which has a preminent location within the Silleuk Temple complex grounds away from other buildings. Figure 2 shows the portraits of (from the viewer's left to right) Muhak, Zhikong and Naong hanging inside the Hall of Ancient Masters behind the statue of Sakyamuni. Figure 3 depicts the full length of the portrait of Zhikong, with the calligraphy announcing that it is the "Great Indian Monk Dhyānabhadra." Figure 4 is a close-up photo of Zhikong's head and shoulders, highlighting his crown and robe. Figure 5 is a photo of Naong behind the statue of Sakyamuni.

In the late 12th century, Hoeam Temple was probably affiliated with the Hwaeom school. However, Heo asserts that it had converted to the Jogye Seon Order by 1313, thus becoming a Seon-affiliated temple, about thirteen years before Zhikong first arrived at the temple in 1326.[659] Yi Saek suggests that it may have been converted to a Seon-affiliated temple just at the beginning

[658] Silleuk Temple also gained in notoriety, as it was the place where both Naong in 1376 and Li Se in 1396 passed away, exactly twenty years apart, amidst questionable circumstances.
[659] Heo 1997, 196-197.

of the 14th century,[660] due to the influence of the well-known Yuan monk Tieshan Shaoqiong. As already discussed, Shaoqiong was a member of the Yangji branch of the Linji school of Chinese Chan. He arrived in Goryeo in July of 1304 and stayed until September of 1306.[661] Therefore, Tieshan spent some time at Hoeam Temple over twenty years before Zhikong arrived in Goryeo in 1326. Yi Saek wrote that Tieshan left a "number of writings (*shue* 書額)" at Hoeam Temple, the most influential text being his copy and commentary on the *Sūtra of Brahma's Net*. Heo states that these writings were kept there at least until the end of the Goryeo period. It was almost inevitable for an itinerant monk traveling from the Yuan to Goryeo to pass or stop by Hoeam Temple, as it is located at a key point on the main route to the peninsula from the Yuan.[662] Zhikong did stop there.

People of Goryeo, including members of royalty, monks and commoners, gave Zhikong a great amount of support and kindness during the two years and seven months he spent on the peninsula. To commemorate this support, Zhikong left a "hand-written note (*shouji* 手記)" to his representative successor, Naong, asking Naong to oversee the renovation of Hoeam Temple and to build it in the likeness of Nālandā. The "trek of all the [Goryeo] people of 1000 *li* (*bashe wanren quanyu li* 跋涉萬人千餘里)"[663] was a note of Zhikong's recognition of the Goryeo people's acceptance of him after having traveled so far from his native land of Magadha.

Zhikong chose Hoeam Temple and its site, which reminded him of the geographical surroundings of the Nālandā university-temple complex in northeastern India, to commemorate

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[660] Yi Saek, Collection of Writings of Mogeun (Mogeun Mungo) 1377, 808. Also, Heo supports this suggestion that Cheulsan was in Koryo and stayed at Hoeam Temple for a short time a few decades prior to Zhikong's arrival there. See Heungsik Heo, "Cheolsan Sogyung's Footprints in Koryo (고려에 남긴 철산경의 (鐵山瓊) 행적)," 한국학보, 11 권, 1985.

[661] Seongbong Choi (최성봉, 崔性鳳), *History of Hweam Temple and its Field Survey* (회암사(檜巖寺)의 연혁(沿革)과 그 사지(寺址) 조사(調査)), 불교학보(佛敎學報) 9, 1972.

[662] Hoeam Temple today is located in Huicheon prefecture (회천면, Huizhou mian 檜川面), of Yangju county (양주군, Yangzhou jun 楊州郡) in Gyeonggi Province (경기도). It is about twenty miles north of Seoul, which is also in Gyeonggi province.

[663] *Chanyao lu Preface*.

this early training center of his. After Zhikong's passing, Naong initiated the expansion of Hoeam Temple and then his student Muhak continued it. Hoeam Temple became early Joseon's largest Buddhist temple and the one that received the most state support. This is direct evidence of the extent of the political value that Naong had invested in Zhikong. It is also clearly the case that his decision to utilize his association with Zhikong after returning to Goryeo bore fruit, as Hoeam Temple became the most influential Buddhist temple in late Goryeo and early Joseon due to the influence of the "Three Monks (*Sam Hwasang* 삼화상, *San Huashang* 三和尙);" Zhikong, Naong, and Muhak (see Figure 2). Muhak and other successors to Zhikong and Naong maintained and perpetuated their religious traditions, and led the Buddhist *sangha* through the Jogye Seon Order during that time.

The majority of the existing relics and remains of Zhikong and Naong were kept in these three temples until the beginning of the 20th century, when Japanese colonial rule over the peninsula officially began in 1910. However, because Hwajang Temple today is situated north of the Demilitarized Zone and thus in the DPRK (North Korea), what is still being kept there is not known. Nonetheless, at the turn of the 20th century Hwajang Temple may have held the greatest number of relics concerning these monks among these three temples. Today, portraits of Naong and Zhikong in Silleuk Temple near Seoul in the ROK are well-preserved and maintained.

While there are relics pertaining to and texts by and mentioning Zhikong in China, Korea and Japan, I know of none that have been found or written in Sri Lanka, India and Tibet, despite the fact that Yi Saek's travelogue of Zhikong offers descriptions of places Zhikong visited as well as peoples, religions and customs he encountered in those and other various countries. If extant and discovered, primary source materials from these countries could offer valuable new information on the early life, thought and travels of Zhikong prior to his entry into East Asia.

Figure 1: Silleuk Temple, Hall of Ancient Masters (신륵사조사당 - 神勒寺祖師堂)

Figure 2: Hall of Ancient Masters - portraits (viewer's L to R) of Muhak, Zhikong and Naong

Figure 3: Hall of Ancient Masters – full length portrait of Zhikong

Figure 4: Hall of Ancient Masters – portrait of Zhikong

Figure 5: Hall of Ancient Masters - Sakyamuni statue (in front) and portrait of Naong (behind)

Currently, the Hoeam Temple site is undergoing excavation. Only the first layer of stones of the walls of former structures exists, but they clearly mark the floor plan of the buildings on each level of the terraced complex (see Figure 6). This recreation of Hoeam Temple is on the wall of the excavation site information center, which is also makeshift museum. Figure 7 is my photo of a "pagoda (*budo tap* 부도탑, *futu ta* 浮屠塔)" that is the only structure standing at the original site of the Hoeam Temple, although there are newly-built structures near the site.[664]

[664] *Hoeam Temple* (회암사, 檜巖寺). 회암사 (檜巖寺), 1972. (pamphlet distributed by Hoeam Temple)

Figure 6: Recreation of Hoeam Temple complex – excavation site information center

Zhikong Counsels on Goryeo and Yuan Politics in Dadu

During his decades in the Yuan capital, the Mongol ruling class as well as Han Chinese Buddhists showed little appreciation for Zhikong's "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" thought. On the other hand, members of the Goryeo expatriate community in the Yuan capital and those he encountered during his journey through Goryeo demonstrated widespread and enduring interest in Zhikong and his thought, and comprised the majority of his followers, disciples and sponsors. Since its introduction on the peninsula during the 4th century C.E., Buddhism had long been influential, both perpetuating and changing Korean society at all levels throughout the peninsula, especially during the late Goryeo period when both the Buddhist *sangha* and the ruling elite class were losing their preeminent positions in society. In the *Chanyao lu Preface*, Minji pointed out the widespread acceptance, among members of various classes in Goryeo society, of Zhikong's application of precepts and his emphasis on following them.

Figure 7: Hoeam Temple (회암사 - 檜巖寺) excavation site - pagoda

As introduced in chapter one, the late Goryeo period was a time of anomie for Koreans, as was the last decades of Mongol rule for those Goryeo expatriates in the Yuan. Some members of the Goryeo royal family and the Buddhist *sangha* had long been engaging in decadent activities. Some influential members of an emerging group of new Goryeo elites, who would come to establish a new direction in the Joseon, accepted Zhikong's model of a new spiritual direction and renewal. Some members of Goryeo royalty and government officials living in the Yuan, as well as support groups for them, had become disillusioned with the decadent secular and religious

rulers and their influences that had long plagued the Goryeo dynasty.[665] Revolutionary change was fast approaching. The passage below illustrates the desire for change.

> Since wealth is abandoned like worn out shoes, [and people's] entire lives are regarded as extravagant shoes, [their] greedy ways gradually abate, [and] arrogant [and vulgar] customs are transformed.
>
> 至有棄富實 如弊履 視身命 如浮履 貪競之風漸息 驕淫之俗梢變.[666]

Specifically, influential members of a branch of the Jogye Seon Order were most conspicuous in their acceptance of Zhikong and his teachings, and their campaign to institute his thought reflected his influence. Zhikong extended an invitation to both the laity and monastics to follow his soteriological paradigm based on the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts."

By the 1350s Mongol Yuan rule was nearing its end. The perpetual problem of succession had become central to the already tense and unstable political situation.[667] Goryeo could not escape from the situation in the Yuan, but it did open up opportunities for new elements in society to emerge. The Goryeo noble families had long held land and political influence at court. They were the basis for the "scholar-official literati (*sadae bu* 사대부, *shida fu* 士大夫)" or "gentry (*yangban* 양반, *liangban* 兩班)" class that was slowly emerging during the latter third of the dynasty. This class had arisen during the hundred years of military rule in the Goryeo from 1170 to 1270, and continued its tenuous rule and relationship with the backing of the Goryeo military class by playing this military class off against the Mongols in the Yuan in order to perpetuate its nominal rule on the penninsula. The early Goryeo-period Seon sects and the military class had arisen in prominence together after the 1170 military coup, as the military class patronized the

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[665] Heo (1997) puts forth the thesis that a key difference distinguishing the acceptance of Zhikong and his thought in Goryeo and Yuan societies was that Goryeo had been based in pastoral agriculture while the Mongol Yuan was dominated by a meat-eating culture that was based on hunting, cavalries, stock farming, and nomadism. This difference lends support to the view that late-Goryeo period society, siding with Zhikong, denounced "sacrificial rituals involving meat (*rouji* 肉祭)" and instead supported "vegetarian sacrificial rituals (*suji* 素祭)." Goryeo society held these "sacrificial rituals involving meat" in the same catagory as those "licentious sacrificial practices (*yinse* 淫祀)" involving sex that some members of the Tibetan Lamaist-influenced Mongol and Goryeo courts were participating in.

[666] *Chanyao lu Preface*.

[667] For a more detailed account of the final century of the Goryeo dynasty, see See Lee, Ch'oe and Kang 1996; and Carter Eckert and Ki-Baik Lee *Korea Old and New: A History* (Harvard University Press, 1991).

Seon sects, while the "scholastic approach, or study (*gyo* 교, *jiao* 教)" schools of Buddhism and their land-holding aristocratic noble class patrons waned in influence.[668] When military officials came to power after the major military revolt in 1196, they sought to destroy the traditional system of civil aristocrats who had been struggling with each other for political power. The older and more established Buddhist "scholastic approach" schools were closely associated with the civil aristocratics against the military class. The newer, or "practice-oriented (*seon* 선, *chan* 禪)" Buddhist sects, more active among military officers, gradually came to overtake the "scholastic approach" schools after the revolt. The Confucian literati scholar-official class also rose in prominence, vis-à-vis the aristocratic noble class, during the century of military rule. The pace of this quickened after the military rule collapse in 1270 as the military class continued its relationships with the literati class and the Seon sects that were in the process of unifying under the Jogye Seon Order umbrella organization. In addition, a new scholar-official literati subgroup was emerging that consisted of scholar-officals, principally local administrative clerks, with small-scale agricultural estates that they lived on and personally directed. This emerging subgroup contended for influence with the long-established scholar-official literati class or gentry and the aristocratic noble class, both of which had long owned and expanded huge agricultural estates as absentee landlords. These classes had ties with the the huge monastic-estate complexes owned and operated by the long-established and "scholastic approach-based" (Cheontae, Vinaya and Hwaeom) Buddhist schools. The established scholar-official literati class and aristocratic noble class avoided military service, and were supported by the Mongol Yuan, while the military class and emergent new scholar-official literati subgroup, many of whom were from military families, came to comprise the anti-Mongol reformist faction.

Within the scholar-official literati class, two sub-groups emerged in the latter decades of the Goryeo dynasty, around the mid-14th century. Members of both sub-groups studied the "Three

[668] For more information of the relationship between the Goryeo military class and the Seon sects and Jogye Seon Order, see Chae-ch'ang Lee, "The Movement of Traditional Son in the Late Koryo Period: Especially Master Chigyom, Iryon & Ch'onch'aek," in *Son Thought in Korean Buddhism* (Seoul, Korea: Dongguk University Press, 1998).

Teachings" of Buddhism Daoism and Confucianism, but a key difference was that Neo-Confucianism had been introduced into the Goryeo scholar-official literati system in 1314 and it was that version that became the standard for Confucian teaching. The reform-minded and anti-Yuan "newly-arisen scholar-official class (Sinheung sadaebu 신흥사대부, Xinyu shidafu 新與士大夫)," many of whom had been Yi Saek's students, was in ascension, and the generally pro-Mongol "establishment scholar-official class (Gweonmun saejeok 권문세족, Quanmen shizu 權門世族)," which Yi Saek (and Minji) belonged to, was in decline.

In this context, the Koryo King Gongmin (공민왕, Gongmin wang 恭愍王, Bayan Temür, r. 1351-1374) saw an opportunity for reform and distance, even separation, from the Yuan. Right at the beginning of his rule he created the National Confucian Academy (Seonggyun guan 성균관, Chengjun guan 成均館), with Yi Saek as its teacher. Also, Gongmin commissioned Naong, upon his return from the Yuan in 1358, to re-establish the Jogye Seon Order monk examination system. Therefore, Gongmin directed the invigoration of both Neo-Confucianism through Yi Saek and the Seon sects under the Jogye Seon Order through Naong. In addition, Gongmin purged the pro-Yuan faction in the Goryeo government and carried out a program to wrest land and wealth from the generational landowning noble families and the established Buddhist schools. Gongmin was aided early in his reform efforts by the support of Yi Saek and other enlightened statesmen of the "establishment scholar-official class" who lobbied for a gradual approach to Goryeo autonomy from the Yuan, despite this position not being in their individual self-interest.

Politically, Gongmin was criticized from both sides. On the one side were the status quo convervatives of the "establishment scholar-official class" and the generational landowning noble class. On the other side was the the aggressive reform-minded "newly-arisen scholar-official class," along with their own military class families and allies, who pushed for a much more aggressive approach toward Goryeo independence. Members of the "newly-arisen scholar-official class" would become the basis of the gentry, or "*yangban*," of the Joseon dynasty. On top of all

this, Gongmin had serious internal military-related issues to deal with that threatened his rule. The family of Lady Gi, the aforementioned concubine of Yuan emperor Shundi, was very powerful in among the Goryeo elites. Her elder brother, Gi Chul (기철, Ji Che 奇轍, Bayan Bukha), attempted a coup to oust Gongmin, so Gongmin had his military exterminate the entire Gi family in 1356. Gongmin's military also repelled the Red Turbans (*hongjin* 紅巾) when they invaded Goryeo in 1359 and 1361, and actually occupied Gaeseong (formerly Gaegyeong) for a short period of time. Thus, Gongmin was indebted to the Goryeo military throughout his reign.

Both the status quo conservatives and the up-and-coming reformists, for their differing reasons, collectively and effectively undermined Gongmin's gradual-approach reform policies. Ultimately, it was his own policies that put his rule and life, and the lives of his longtime supporters such as Yi Saek, in danger. Gongmin was murdered in 1374, and the order had come from members of the conservative literati camp. However, those in the reformist camp, who had been growing in influence from the 1360s, banished Yi Saek for the remaining two decades of his life and threatened him with execution. This was due to Yi's continued allegiance to the late Gongmin and his vision, Yi's softer anti-Buddhism positions, and his philosophical association with the pro-Goryeo conservatives with their anti-Ming stance. When Yi wrote his travelogue of Zhikong and biography of Naong, he was already a recluse in political exile, old and in ill health, and out of favor with the activist reformist movement. This is ironic, in that Yi had had contributed greatly to the emergence of and abrupt rise in the Neo-Confucian political and philosophical movement, and class, that would become the founding direction of the Joseon dynasty. However, the winds of change were too strong, and those that he had taught were too eager for abrupt change. Yi had long advocated a measured and statesmanlike approach for a gradual move from a long-failing Goryeo state that had been established through its association with Buddhism and the gentry class. He had changed somewhat to an approach that accepted the new political force, namely Neo-Confucianism, along with the strengths from and learning of the past, which was

actually a classical Confucian approach to nation-building. However, this was not the abrupt and disruptive change that the times, the polticial context in China, and the recently-emboldened military class and his students from the "newly-arisen scholar-official class" were demanding. Ultimately, they got what they wanted.

It is with this historical context that the following two passages concerning Zhikong can be understood. First, In the *Unofficial History of the Gengshen Emperor*, the compiler Quan Heng (權衡) offered further insight into Zhikong's "spiritual resonance" as a thaumaturge, the Yuan Emperor's relationship with his son the Crown Prince, and Zhikong's influence with the Yuan court nobles during the latter decades of his life there.

In the 19th year of Zhizheng, [1359, the] capital was experiencing a very low harvest [and the] people dying of starvation were in the millions. [The] Crown Prince summoned monk Zhikong [and] asked how to treat the people's hunger. Zhikong said: "[It] will come by sea, [so] why worry!" [In the] fall, a hundred thousand [items] of grain transported from Fujian arrived [at the] capital….

[The] Master resided in the capital for forty years, practicing quietly in one room [and] not ever going out. Princes and dukes and nobles were all berated [by Zhikong]. Even the emperor could not avoid [that].

(至正十九年) 京師大饑 民殍死者 幾百萬 太子召 指空和尚 問民饑 何以療之 指空曰 海運且至 何憂, 秋福建運糧數十萬 至京…

居京師四十年 習靜一室 未嘗出門 王公貴人 多兒呵斥 雖帝亦不免.[669]

The first part of this passage discusses the problems in 1359 associated with the limited harvest that contributed to the death by starvation of many people. The Crown Prince, Shundi's son Ayushiridar by the Goryeo Lady Gi, is depicted as being in a position of authority. That he not only summoned but also requested Zhikong to offer some suggestion to the problem of starvation of so many people, thus concerning a major policy decision for the government, is an indication of the extent of Zhikong's influence on such issues as well as on the Crown Prince. In addition, the matter-of-fact impression presented in the recording of this passage concerning

[669] The *Unofficial History of the Gengshen Emperor* records the events during the reign of Shundi (順帝, r. 1333-1370), who was born during a year of the cyclical characters *gengshen* (庚申). This text was the basis for the official dynastic history of the Yuan, the *Yuan Shi* (元史). Quan Heng (權衡), *Unofficial History of the Gengshen Emperor* (*Gengshen Waishi* 庚申外史) (鄭州: 中州古籍出版社, 1991).

Zhikong‘s response is reminiscent of the impression of the early foreign thaumaturges in primary sources. Like them, Zhikong’s “spiritual resonance,” augmented by his lifetime of meditation practice, is demonstrated by the confidence and assuredness he exuded concerning this issue. Zhikong is represented as a confident and self-assured advisor to the Crown Prince. Thus, this passage confers this impression of stability and confidence to the Shundi reign during the time that not only his but also Mongol rule had long been in disarray.

The second part of the passage refers to the extent that Zhikong is attributed the aforementioned attributes of the fifth-century monk Huiyuan. Zhikong’s long life and influence with members of the governing elites and nobles, as well as the royal family, is implied here. Zhikong is presented in the historical literary tradition of the “meditator-recluse” who reluctantly aids and advises the governing and ruling elites and yet is known to chastise them for their secular interests. Zhikong was of the entire secular world “under heaven,” and exerted an important influence in it concerning the interests of the ruling elites. Nonetheless, Zhikong was also transcendent of this secular world to the extent that he ultimately did not serve those who controlled “all under heaven.” His “spiritual resonance” offered utilitarian support for, and those who are “suffering” in, this world. However, this “spiritual resonance” had been gained and expanded by, and directed toward, transcendence of this secular world.

The four exchanges in the following passage offer more insight into Zhikong’s political influence among members of the Goryeo expatriate community in the final days of the Yuan.

[The] Chinese soldiers were about to rise [so the] Master publically sat and spoke to the crowd saying: “Do you know how many of our troops and horses [there are]! [At] this station the number is innumerable.”

[In the] temple [where the] Master resided were many monks [from] Goryeo. One day [he] suddenly spoke [to them] saying: “What is the reason you rebel?” [They] wanted to beat [their] drums to attack [but] then [he] stopped [them].

[After] several days [the] Liaoyang province [troops] urgently reported [that the] Goryeo troops were violating the border [area]. [At the] capital, [there were] troops [and] people gathering there. Every time he spoke to its people [he] said: “Leave [here] quickly.”

Then [the] emperor went north [and the] Chinese troops entered [the] city. Therefore, [the] capital was called “Northern Capital.” How can it be [that the] Master knew [this]!

中原兵將興。師於廣坐語眾曰。汝識吾兵馬之多乎。某地屯幾萬。

師所居寺皆高麗僧。一日忽語之曰。汝何故叛耶。欲鳴鼓攻之而止。數日遼陽省馳奏。高麗兵犯界。京師者。眾之聚也。每語其人曰。速去之。既而天子北狩。中原兵入城。立府曰北平。師豈偶然者哉.[670]

This passage introduces brief accounts of Zhikong's interactions with people in the Yuan capital in the mid- to late-1350s, thus shortly before his death. The accounts are in reaction to military-related events that were associated with the instability of the Yuan due to Mongol faction infighting concerning succession issues exacerbated by the long (and heir-less) rule of Shundi.[671] In this passage, the Master is Zhikong. This passage is referring to specific events of this tumultuous period. In 1356, Gongmin was already dealing with serious internal coup attempts by groups that opposed his reformist policies. In 1359, Goryeo troops under Gongmin were retaking the northern Goryeo lands that the Mongols had captured in and had annexed since the 1250s. The powerful leader of these troops, Yi Seonggye (이성계, Li Chenggui 李成桂, 1335-1408 C.E.), was one of Gongmin's elite military leaders. However, Yi would eventually turn against the Goryeo establishment and the policies of Gongmin, and he would become the Joseon dynasty founding King Taejo (태조, Taizu 太祖) in 1392.

The people Zhikong was counseling in this passage were most likely his disciples and lay followers in the Yuan. Implied in the passage is that many of them were members of the Goryeo expatriate community in the Yuan capitals. Zhikong was very well-known in that community, which consisted of more of the status-quo conservative, thus pro-Yuan, nobles and literati than the reformist, thus anti-Yuan, lower-level literati and militarists. This passage shows that Zhikong

[670] T.2089. 51, 0983a.

[671] Shundi's Zhizheng period (r. 1341 to 1368 C.E.) rule was the end of the Yuan. During his rule, the future Goryeo King Gongmin was brought as a young boy to the Yuan court in 1341 and spent years there before becoming the Goryeo king in 1351. After his ascension, Gongmin became actively engaged in in policies with the purpose of reasserting Goryeo's independence from the by-then clearly disintegrating Mongol rule. Gongmin's first act as king was to remove all pro-Mongol aristocrats at court and all pro-Mongol military officers from their positions. When the deposed members of these groups formed a dissident faction around the Gi family, the very family of the aforementioned Goryeo-born concubine of Shundi, and plotted a coup against Gongmin, the pro-Mongol faction was successfully put down in 1356 by Goryeo troops loyal to Gongmin.

However, members of an entrenched bureaucratic elite were allies of the deposed aristocrats and military officers of the dissident faction. These elites had long enjoyed their status through their ties to the Mongols, so they continued to protect their positions and to oppose Gongmin, especially after he established relations with the Ming in 1368. After the death of his queen, who died in childbirth in 1365, Gongmin became depressed and unstable, and erratic in his rule, and was finally assassinated in 1374 by one of his confidants.

was directly involved in addressing the emergent military-political issues, by the mid- to late-1350s, of increasingly disintegrating Mongol rule as well as the enactment of Gongmin's military policies to take back long-held Goryeo territories from the Yuan. As already mentioned, this was near the end of Naong's ten-year hiatus from Goryeo spent augmenting his Buddhist credentials and practice in the Yuan. In 1358, Naong would return to Goryeo and take the position of advisor and "Royal Preceptor" to Gongmin, so he was obviously privy to both the Gongmin's policies and their internal and external consequences. Gongmin's reformist policies directly led to exacerbation of the unrest and instability in the Yuan capitals concerning both the Goryeo expatriate community and the Han Chinese community. Thus, both Zhikong and his key sponsors and disciples in the Yuan were directly affected by Gongmin's policies. This passage illuminates Zhikong's peripheral involvement in and understanding of the political problems of what would soon contribute to the end of Mongol rule and the Yuan. It also points to the considerable influence Zhikong had concerning political matters among his disciples and lay believers.

In the first exchange, Zhikong was warning the crowd that had gathered to hear him that the Han Chinese troops were amassing in the capital. The Chinese troops were preparing to deal with contingencies of Mongol ruling family infighting and the imminent attack of Goryeo troops. In the second exchange, the temple mentioned was probably Fayuan Temple. Zhikong's main donors for this temple were Goryeo women who were wives of Goryeo expatriate government officials and nobles as well as concubines of Mongol officials and nobles. It is clear that many of the monks at that temple were also from Goryeo. Here, Zhikong admonished the monks for their participation in the growing rebellion of the Goryeo community in support of the Goryeo state's political and military activity against both the Mongol rule and the Han Chinese. The implication of this exchange is that Zhikong was applying his stature and status among the Goryeo monks under his guidance to attempt to quell their participation in rebellion. It appears he was successful concerning the event pertaining to this exchange.

As demonstrated in the third exchange, the Goryeo troops were violating the eastern border of the Yuan, in Liaoyang province (遼陽省), to prepare to attack. In response, the Chinese troops continued to amass in the capital. The standoff was entering a more elevated stage. In the implied number of addresses to "his people" that Zhikong gave, the situation was so dire that he recommended that they flee the city as soon as possible.

In the fourth exchange, the Chinese troops entering the capital forced emperor Shundi to flee to the Northern Capital (Beiping 北平). The writer Yi Saek showed surprise at Zhikong's constantly correct predictions, by wondering how Zhikong could know these political and military affairs. This is an indirect confirmation of and respect for the extent of Zhikong's understanding of and influence in political and military affairs, especially from the Goryeo perspective. The impression Yi gave of Zhikong is that of one who is pacifist and statesman-like. As already mentioned, Yi's own position toward Buddhism was one of begrudging tolerance, a position much more accommodating than that held by the majority of his establishment scholar-official class colleagues (not to mention the much more staunchly anti-Buddhist position of the "newly-arisen scholar-official class"). By presenting Zhikong in this way, Yi was subtly suggesting that "certain" (ie. not Korean, and certainly not politically-oriented) monks like Zhikong could be of some support concerning rule if and when, as was anticipated, Confucian rule returns to Goryeo. Could Yi have been voicing his own political perspective, as well as his view of the utility of Buddhism to Neo-Confucian rule, through his presentation of Zhikong?

Conclusion

In this chapter, I dealt with the affinity between Zhikong's Buddhism and the direction of both the mid- to late-Goryeo Seon *sangha* and of the Neo-Confucian philosophical movement that was growing in influence and would become the ruling ideology of the Joseon Dynasty. Although the elements of the affinity between them were not all the same, as a whole they offer possible

reasons why Zhikong and his thought were more accepted by Koreans (and by minoritized peoples in China's southewest) than by Han Chinese or Mongols.

Of critical importance was the growing influence of Song-period Neo-Confucianism and widespread acceptance of its philosophical positions vis-à-vis Buddhism among the ruling elites, scholars, and scholar-officials of Goryeo. Neo-Confucianism would become the basis of the ruling ideology after the fall of the Goryeo. This ideology, with its emphasis on moral principles, was closer to Zhikong's form of Buddhism than to that of Goryeo Buddhism that was waning in influence after centuries of disintegration and corruption. Nonetheless, Goryeo Buddhism's emphasis on a more comprehensive and restrictive precepts system fit in with Neo-Confucianism's emphasis on morality.

This chapter also showed that Goryeo Buddhism may have been more receptive to the elements of Esotericism that Zhikong utilized than Chinese Buddhism was. Certainly, the unresolved issue of orthodox lineage in the Jogye Seon Order, and Naong's insertion of Zhikong into the discussion, contributed to Zhikong's continued influence in Korean Buddhism.

I also discussed the key difference concerning precepts that distinguished Zhikong and the members of the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* from the general trend concerning precepts in the Chinese Chan school. For members of the Chinese Chan school and its sects, following a comprehensive set of precepts was not as central to their practice as it was for Zhikong and members of the Jogye Seon Order. In addition, Zhikong's emphasis on the following of precepts as the practice suitable for the laity as well as monastics was very appealing to many members of the emerging elite classes of a Goryeo society in disintegration and that was by the mid-14th century only nominally controlled by the Mongol Yuan. Zhikong did not compromise his principles or his thought in his teaching in the Yuan capital, despite the lack of success he had at gathering disciples among those outside the Goryeo expatriate community there.

EPILOGUE

This dissertation had two principal objectives: to present Zhikong and explicate the key elements of his thought and to present these to the academic community, and to explore the dissemination of his thought, teachings and paradigm of practice among those that he encountered during his long journey to and throughout India, Yuan China and Goryeo Korea as well as during his life in East Asia.

The first of these was accomplished through an overview of the contents of three seminal primary sources on him and the presentation of transcriptions, translations and discussions of key passages from these and other writings. What has emerged is a description of an exceptional individual with a deep and broad knowledge of the Buddhist tradition, whose legacy was preserved, and who in his own time was recognized as having the wisdom and authority of an eminent monk in the East Asian tradition. Zhikong's representative soteriological paradigm of practice was based on the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts (*wusheng jie* 無生戒)." He distinctly emphasized preaching to the laity and encouraging them to adhere to Buddhist precepts as well as to strive for the realization of awakening.

With regard to the second objective, the wider range of primary sources concerning Zhikong that we have access to, the closer to Zhikong the historical figure we can come. Each of Zhikong's encounters are, in part, hagiography, biography, history, geographical description of peoples and cultures, description of region-specific schools of orthodox Buddhism, indigenized forms of Buddhism, and heterodox religions, sects and cults, as well as elements of each of these belief systems. Each encounter is also, in part, an expression and demonstration of Zhikong's encyclopedic knowledge, understanding, contextualization and application of his wide learning of Buddhism, a critique of the influential thought forms such as Confucianism, Lamaism, and Chan Buddhism, and a critique of majority cultures and minoritized peoples following them by the authors of the primary source texts used in this study.

Zhikong's Socio-ethical Approach to Buddhism

In this dissertation, I answered some questions I had prior to engaging in this study. I addressed why Zhikong had been successful in proselytizing among peoples in some areas but not others. I established and showed how particular elements of his thought, teaching and practice were compatible with some peoples he was successful with, and why they were not compatible with others. I presented and discussed elements of the soteriological paradigm of practice of the Korean Imje Seon (Linji Chan) sect tradition of the Jogye Seon Order, as well as of the Esoteric tradition in Goryeo, that paralleled the key elements of Zhikong's version of Buddhist practice. These included an emphasis on the centrality of "religious precepts" of the *vinaya* as the fundamental basis of his teachings and practice, an openness to creative expression of this discipline in praxis, and a practice-oriented acceptance of scriptural study.

To Zhikong, "Chan meditative contemplation" was a state of "trained freedom," meaning one was free in terms of how to act insofar as it conformed to the "truth of the (neither arising nor) non-arising precepts." His practice toward and of "meditative contemplation" did not involve the use of what he saw as artificial devices of the Chan school, such as observing the "public case" or the "head phrase." Thus, to him, the object of "meditative contemplation" was different from those of the existing main Chinese Chan school and sects of the Yuan and the Seon school and sects of the Goryeo.

However, like the monks of the Chan and Seon schools, Zhikong de-emphasized a process toward the experience of realization that might include only a regimen of practice of "meditative contemplation" prior to realization. He instead emphasized the experience of realization itself. Zhikong expressed the moment of realization as merely "residing in unimpeded awareness (*zizai* 自在)," or the state of "functioning freely without constraints." The foundation for personal creativity concerning one's expression of realization exists in this state. On the other hand, given

his acceptance among the Goryeo expatriate community in the Yuan capitals and the fact that he did spent up to five years at Zhengxu Temple in Yunnan and more than three decades in the Yuan capital, I was not able to establish why Zhikong only went once to, and did not spend more time on or move to, the Korean peninsula.

The flow of Indian Buddhists into East Asia had stopped during the Song and Goryeo periods, but that did not lessen interest in and respect for Indian Buddhism among East Asian Buddhists. However, up to now, the Yuan period has been largely overlooked in academic research, and this study aimed to contribute to a better understanding of that time. Most research has identified the Yuan and the Goryeo periods as an era during which Buddhism turned toward syncretism. Zhikong was a "loci of the holy" and a transmitter of then-current Indian Buddhism to East Asia. And, with his ecumenical style, he was also an "objective mediator" and synthesizer of local religions and Buddhism, and a converter of local peoples to Buddhism. Like Jinul, Yi Saek, Mingben, and the late-Goryeo Jogye Seon Order, Zhikong was catholic and inclusive.

What is more, some individuals within the emergent and growing Neo-Confucian movement, such as Yi Saek (Minji was a staunch classical Confucian and did not welcome this revisionist view), welcomed this resurgence of a conservative and precepts-based Buddhism that monks like Zhikong asserted. Neo-Confucianism was valorizing education as a part of the personal endeavor of moral cultivation, and less as a part of classical Confucianism's teaching of others for service to the state and the perpetuation of state structures. In this sense, the self-cultivation of the growing class of disenfranchised Neo-Confucian literati in private academies during this period paralleled the cultivation of Buddhist monks in "private cloisters." The beginnings of this emphasis on monastic morality had been occurring in conjunction with the rise of Neo-Confucianism, along with its appropriation of Buddhist themes. These private cloisters and academies served the needs of their wealthy patrons by providing a space outside of the requirements of mainstream institutions for individual monks to return to cultivation as the center

of their practice and for literati to deepen their spiritual practice, respectively. Zhikong saw the utility of receiving literati patronage and having an extensive secular elite social network.

Zhikong's representative practice of following the "(neither arising nor) non-arising precepts" carried with it aspects that attracted the Neo-Confucian-oriented elites. These included a potential contribution to social cohesion, a model of a code of morality, and a charismatic personality with proselytizing zeal to promote his moral precepts system. This morality-based conservatism of Zhikong's representative practice paralleled the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha*'s renewed commitment to an emphasis on morality through acceptance of the more comprehensive and restrictive "*bodhisattva* precepts" system. The appeal of Zhikong's thought among members of a wide range of classes in Goryeo was instrumental to his success among Goryeo people and their interest in supporting his disciples, led by Naong, who would perpetuate his thought after his passing. Along with key Neo-Confucian trained scholars and government officials, Zhikong's Buddhist disciples contributed to the revitalization of the Goryeo Buddhist *sangha* just at a time when Neo-Confucianism was primed to become the ruling ideology of the Joseon Dynasty. In this specific area of emphasis on morality, Zhikong's thought (as well as that of Goryeo Seon sects) was more aligned with Neo-Confucianism than the thought of either the Chinese Chan school and sects or Tibetan Buddhism.

The stories of Zhikong's encounters offer insights into the forms of Buddhism and other "heterodox teachings" in specific areas that he traveled through or lived in for some time. That Zhikong had come from India played a key role in the representation of him in East Asian historical records, and contributed greatly to the acceptance of him as an eminent Buddhist monk by particular segments of the secular and Buddhist communities. Even the relatively limited portions of texts examined in detail in this dissertation demonstrate the sort of rare and valuable documentation of late 13th century Indian Buddhism interacting with East Asian Buddhism. Zhikong was indeed the "last light of Indian Buddhism" in East Asia, specifically of the Nālandā education system.

I have demonstrated that Zhikong preached to peoples of all classes of society, and that he was closely associated with minoritized or disadvantaged peoples. Zhikong's travelogue and other writings on him include encounters with peoples from a wide range of locales and backgrounds. However, given the importance of Tibetan Buddhists in the Yuan capital, the absence of any mention of them in writings on Zhikong (as well as on and by Mingben) deserves note. The failure of both Zhikong and Mingben to acknowledge Tibetan Buddhists reflects the distance between Chinese Chan and Tibetan Lamaism during the latter half of the Yuan dynasty.

Directions for Further Research on Zhikong

There are a number of areas of further investigation that could help clarify persisting questions concerning the effect that "the last light of Indian Buddhism" had on East Asian Buddhism.

The first stage envisioned for my research on Zhikong will be to produce a full transcription and translation into English of the entirety of the main works I applied in this dissertation. This would include acquiring access to the copied version of the travelogue taken from Hwajang Temple in the 1920s to Japan. In addition, the fact that Zhikong spent decades at Fayuan Temple in Dadu, and that a temple named Fayuan exists today in Beijing,[672] suggests that there may be primary source materials relating to Zhikong that have yet to be studied. I believe collecting and translating these works will prove to be a useful bridge between the late 13th century Nālandā education system, Indian Buddhism, and mid-14th century Goryeo Jogye Seon Order Buddhism, as well as the Buddhisms of minoritized peoples of China's southwest. A more complete explication of Zhikong's thought could also offer deeper understanding of the contrasts between it and that of mid-14th century Tibetan Buddhism and the Chinese Chan school and sects.

Second, a more in-depth comparative analysis of the representative concepts of the Chinese Chan "pure rules of Chan" precepts system and those of Zhikong's "(neither arising nor) non-

[672] As discussed, there is some disagreement as to whether the well-known Fayuan Temple in Beijing today is the same Fayuan Temple of that Zhikong lived in during the Yuan.

arising precepts" system, and of the "*bodhisattva* precepts" system of late-Goryeo Buddhism, could further clarify the extent of the similarities and differences of these three systems.

Third, more research on the early Joseon-period Jogye Seon Order thought of Naong and Muhak could demonstrate which elements or concepts of Zhikong's thought were perpetuated by his disciples, and the extent that these elements might have been absorbed into Korean Seon. This includes collecting the information on commemorative steles and portraits of Zhikong (and Naong) on the peninsula. The various epitaphs written to pass down information about Zhikong transmitted that information in many forms. Often, the writers of later epitaphs merely copied only one existing epitaph, or even only a part of it. Due to this practice, there are wide differences in the contents of the existing epitaphs in terms of amount, type and fidelity of information on Zhikong. Further research is required to more definitively ascertain whether they reflect Zhikong's actual encounters, the created memories of Zhikong when recounting his encounters to his disciples and sponsors, or the intent of those Confucian scholar-officials who compiled or copied (and recopied) primary source materials long after Zhikong arrived in the Yuan.

Fourth, more needs to be researched in the areas discussed by Yuming Duan, on "geographical descriptions (*dizhi zi liao* 地誌資料)" of the places Zhikong passed through while traveling, including using Indian and Sri Lankan sources. Also relevant is research on Chinese Buddhists traveling on merchant ships in the 14th century to the west coast of India and to Sri Lanka, and their activities and influences there.

Finally, as for the extent of Zhikong's esotericism, the tradition had roots in Yunnan long before he arrived in the region. In addition, Sorensen asserts, contrary to the views of many Korean scholars, that the esoteric tradition has been an integrated part of the makeup of Korean Buddhism and that "there was an influence from late Indian Buddhism on Korean Seon through the transmission of certain esoteric practices and teachings."[673] Some modern Chinese scholars hold the view that Zhikong may have been teaching aspects of the esoteric tradition in his travels

[673] Sorensen 1986, 89.

through the Yunnan region and during his time in Wuding where he founded Zhengxu Temple. This, along with the centuries-long ties between Magadha and the Yunnan and Shichuan areas, contributed to the affinity connecting Zhikong's form of Buddhism and the thought forms of peoples in these areas and why he spent up to eight years in China's southwest.

Yuming Duan[674] discusses not only the lack of Buddhist exchanges between the Yuan and India, and the dearth of research on this relationship, but also the lack of primary source materials. He also points out the prevalence of errors in the extant primary sources pertaining to Zhikong. Duan asserts that Zhikong's initial training was in Indian esotericism, but his years of study and practice of types of Chinese meditation, most significantly during the three years in Sichuan and the up to five years in Yunnan, may have provided him with the experiences to learn about Chan, and to adopt the features and appearance of being a Chinese-style Chan monk. This would serve him well during the rest of his life.

I assert that research into Zhikong's teachings during this time in China's southwest, as well as into the history of Zhengxu Temple, could contribute to the argument that Orzech[675] and proponents of "critical Buddhism" such as Hubbard[676] and others initiated, which is that the Chinese context had as much of an impact on the expression and development of esotericism in China, Japan and Korea as its Indian roots did. The prevalence of modern scholars that hold the view that Zhikong taught a form of esoteric Buddhism in the Yunnan region suggests that the

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[674] Duan 2007.

[675] Orzech asserts that, by the Song period, the "true word (*zhenyan* 眞言)," or Esoteric, tradition had become a conglomeration of ritual techniques perpetuated within the context of other Buddhist lineages and schools due to, among other factors, a "pervasive bias in high culture against religious practices for worldly ends." See Charles D. Orzech, "Seeing Chen-yen Buddhism: Traditional Scholarship and the *Vajrayana* in China" *History of Religions* 29, No. 2 (1989): 87-114.

[676] The members of the so-called group of "critical Buddhists" were main initial instigators of the argument that the Chinese context had as much of an impact on the esoteric tradition and its expression and development in China, Japan and Korea as its Indian roots did. They assert that one aspect of the invisibility of the esoteric tradition in East Asia is the premise of Western sinology and Confucian orthodoxy, which focus on great men and schools of philosophical discourse rather than on popular movements and rituals. Even in the Tang, popular religions were despised and ignored by eminent monks who enjoyed the patronage of the imperial families and the aristocracy. However, particular "true word" rites and techniques continued to be practiced and taught in small hereditary temples catering to the (often upperclass) laity. See Jamie Hubbard, *Absolute Delusion, Perfect Buddhahood: The Rise and Fall of a Chinese Heresy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

esoteric tradition there may have continued due, in part, to the affinity of particular elements of that tradition with those of the religious traditions of local groups.

Xuezheng Yang[677] studied the years Zhikong spent in Yunnan, and supports the widely held view that his thought had a strong "mystical or esoteric teaching (*mijiao siziang* 密教思想)" character that was shared by peoples there. To support this view, Yang[678] writes of the many symbols of the esoteric tradition in Yunnan. He holds that the artwork of Zhengxu Temple was structured on that tradition, and asserts that Zhikong as well as Zhengxu Temple should be considered to be more closely and deeply associated with the Indian Esoteric, not Chinese Chan, tradition. Yang supports his conclusion from three perspectives; the structure and form of the temple architectural patterns, the style and type of Buddha images found in it, and information on a memorial preface on one of the two sutras that Zhikong wrote in Sanskrit that were later translated into Chinese. Yang also points out that Zhikong taught *prajñā*-based rules, and that there had been a long history of worship of the Esoteric Buddhist tradition by minority peoples in the Yunnan region since the time of the Nanzhao kingdom. With this point, Yang asserts that the Esoteric tradition taught by Zhikong was more acceptable as well as meaningful to the indigenous local groups in Yunnan than it was among the Han Chinese that Zhikong encountered there.

Liu Dingyin[679] summarizes two perspectives on Zhikong in his attempt to determine whether Zhikong's thought was representative of the Esoteric or Chan tradition. Liu's conclusion is that Zhikong was a Chan monk, but that he extensively taught the Esoteric tradition and was highly influenced by it. It seems Liu comes to this conclusion exclusively based on the wall paintings in Zhengxu Temple, which are predominantly of the Esoteric tradition. Liu also posits that Buddhism flourished among the indigenous non-Han Chinese peoples in Yunnan because they were not influenced by Han Chinese and Yuan cultures. I take issue with Liu's assertion that

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[677] Xuezheng Yang (楊學政), "*Zhikong hongyang Zhongguo xinan chanxue kao* (指空弘揚中國西南禪學考)," 雲南社會科學 2, (1996).
[678] Xuezheng Yang 1995a; and Xuezheng Yang 1997.
[679] Yingshou Liu, "Research Journal of Yunnan Religion (Zhikong xingliu ji zhuzuo kaocha, 指空行流及著作考察)," *Yunnan zongjiao yanjiu* (云南宗教研究) 1 (1997): 53-58.

Zhikong's teachings flourished in the Yunnan area simply because the peoples of the indigenous tribal groups there were not greatly influenced by either Han Chinese or Yuan cultures. In relation to this, Hou Chong[680] points out that this esoteric artwork in Zhengxu Temple might have been added long after Zhikong founded it, through the direction of the fourth Ming Emperor Renzong (昭帝, r. 1424-1425).[681] Hou writes that the deposed Renzong was banished to Yunnan by his nephew, and there he became a monk residing in Zhengxu Temple. Renzong contributed to the architectural extravagance of the temple, making it look more like a palace than a temple. More research is required to verify whether the esoteric artwork was added when Renzong was there.

At this point, one can only imagine what other treasures may yet lay hidden in the works on or relating to Zhikong that still awaiting careful attention. I hope that this dissertation will come to stand as a new springboard for more thorough investigation. I hope as well that other scholars will join me in the effort to explore and understand Zhikong's corpus, and to email me at dziwenkr@u.arizona.edu to share their work. My purpose is to collect and make publicly available digitized copies of the corpus of works on Zhikong, and to establish a website in order to serve as a point for resources and communication in the service of increasing our collective knowledge of him.

[680] Hou Chong, "Yuandai lai yunnande yindi sengren zhikong (元代來雲南的印度僧人指空)," *Research Journal of Yunnan* Religion (*Yunnan zongjiao yanjiu*, 云南宗教研究) 2 (1995): 7-12.

[681] Zhu Gaochi (朱高熾, 1378-1425 C.E.) was Emperor Renzong. He was born August 16, 1378, and died of illness at the age of forty-seven. His father was the famous Yongle Emperor.

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